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THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE TASK CONFRONTING OUR PARTY

REPORT Delivered by Comrade KIM IL SUNG,

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At the Conference of the Workers' Party of Korea on October 5, 1966

1. On Some Problems Arising in the International Situation and the International Communist Movement

Comrades,

The Korean revolution is a link in the whole chain of the world revolution and the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people is closely linked up with the struggle of the people of the whole world for peace and democracy, for national independence and socialism.

The international conditions of our revolution are very much complicated today. The imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism are endeavouring more and more desperately to suppress the growing revolutionary movement of the people and are aggravating the international situation to the extreme. Many complicated questions have arisen within the socialist camp and the international communist movement, and the Communist and Workers' Parties have not yet achieved unity. This state of affairs cannot but throw definite obstacles to the development of the world revolutionary movement and affect revolution and construction in our country.

We must correctly analyze and have a clear understanding of the present situation as well as the conditions within the international communist movement and make a right appraisal thereof. We must map out our Party lines for internal and external activities to suit the obtaining situation, and carry them through to the end. Also we must fully prepare all the Party members and the working people ideologically to enable them to rally firmly around the Party and fight on resolutely towards the victory of the revolution in all circumstances.

We should, at this Conference, deal with all these questions to the fullest extent so as to accelerate revolution and construction in our country successfully and contribute to an advancement of the international communist movement and the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

Comrades,

A bitter struggle is going on in the international arena today between socialism and imperialism, between the forces of revolution and the forces of counter-revolution. The socialist forces, the national-liberation movement, the working-class movement and democratic movement are growing as ever on a world-wide scale.

The flames of liberation struggle are specially fierce in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialism is meeting with a powerful resistance of the peoples and being dealt most severe blows in these parts of the world. The peoples who have risen in the struggle are smashing the old world of imperialism and colonialism and are winning new victories in their revolutionary cause of creating a new world.

The growth of the revolutionary forces of the world headed by socialism and the collapse of the colonial system have markedly weakened the forces of imperialism. The internal contradictions of imperialism have become intensified and complications among the imperialist powers have been sharpened. The imperialists are suffering powerful blows from within and without and being driven into a predicament.

The revolutionary movement may undergo vicissitudes in the course of its advancement, but the general situation develops in favour of socialism and the revolutionary forces and to the disadvantage of imperialism and the reactionary forces. Victory of socialism and downfall of imperialism are the main trend of our times that no force can check.

But imperialism does not recede from the arena of history of its own will. Its aggressive nature cannot change and it still remains a dangerous force. The imperialists desperately try to save themselves from doom by means of aggression and war.

The aggressive manoeuvrings of the imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism have become more blunt in recent years. The U.S. imperialists are perpetrating acts of aggression against the socialist countries and the independent national states, barbarously suppressing the national-liberation movements of the Asian, African and Latin-American peoples and disturbing peace throughout the world.

Today, the U.S. imperialists direct the spearhead of aggression to Asia. They have brought more and more armed forces into South Vietnam in wanton violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, carried out the scorched-earth operations of "burn all, kill all and destroy all" and have expanded their bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to the areas of Hanoi and Haiphong. This

shows that the U.S. imperialist policy of "escalation of war" in Vietnam has entered a new, serious phase. The U.S. imperialists are now running amuck to spread the conflagrations of war to the vast area of Asia.

The U.S. aggressors occupy the southern part of our country by force of arms, making frenzied preparations for war; they also occupy Taiwan, territory of the People's Republic of China, carrying on provocative acts against People's China.

The U.S. imperialists have revived Japanese militarism to make use of it as their "shock-brigade" of aggression in Asia. They have aligned the forces of Japanese militarism with the South Korean puppets and are scheming to rig up a "Northeast Asia Military Alliance" with the former as its core.

The basic strategy of the U.S. imperialists in their aggression in Asia is designed to blockade and attack the Asian socialist countries, stem the rapid growth of the revolutionary forces and prop up their colonial rule in Asia by concentrating increasing numbers of American armed forces in this region and mobilizing the forces of Japanese militarism and their subordinate nations and puppets. This machination on the part of the U.S. aggressors aggravates the situation in all parts of Asia to the extreme and gravely endangers universal peace.

The intensified aggressive manoeuvrings of the imperialists led by U.S. imperialism are no signs of their mightiness; they indicate, on the contrary, that they have been placed in a more awkward situation.

The desperate endeavours made by U.S. imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America only testify that the forces of socialism are growing, the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement is being unfolded intensively and the imperialist foothold is shaking to its very foundations in these parts of the world.

No amount of manoeuvre on the part of the imperialists can check the mounting liberation struggle of the peoples or halt the triumphant march onward of socialism. The imperialists will definitely be kicked out of Asia, Africa and Latin America and eventually be defeated by the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. Ultimate triumph of socialism and complete downfall of imperialism are inevitable. This is an immutable law of historical development.

All the events taking place in the international arena substantiate more and more that U.S. imperialism is the main force of aggression and war, the international gendarme, the bulwark of modern colonialism and the most heinous enemy of the people of the whole world.

U.S. imperialism is the enemy No. 1 of the world's people in their struggle. It is the primary task facing the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties to enlist and concentrate the broad anti-imperialist forces in the struggle against U.S. imperialism. Only by fighting it resolutely, can world peace be safeguarded and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples attain victory.

The position of each Communist and Workers' Party at the present period is scaled in a large measure by its approach to U.S. imperialism. Communists should always hold fast to the principled stand of opposing imperialism, U.S. imperialism above all. Particularly at a time when the U.S. imperialists are expanding aggression in Vietnam, all the socialist countries should take a more colder and toughter attitude towards them. We should never tolerate any renunciation of principle and compromise with U.S. imperialism in international affairs.

The socialist countries, even if they maintain diplomatic relations with the imperialist states, should not dissolve their anti-imperialist struggle therein or weaken it for that reason. The socialist countries should adhere to class principle in diplomacy, too, and should exert pressure to bear upon U.S. imperialism and expose and condemn its polices of aggression and war.

It is also wrong only to vociferate against U.S. imperialism, without taking specific actions to stop its aggression. Particularly, one should not cause difficulties to the anti-imperialist forces uniting to take practical measures for dealing blows at the U.S. imperialist aggressors. If such an act is committed, U.S. imperialists' aggression cannot be prevented. On the contrary, it will make them more arrogant and outrageous, and in the final analysis, encourage their acts of aggression.

It is a principle of foreign policy for the socialist countries to struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war and for world peace and security. While fighting to prevent war, however, we Communists should never fear it, but should thoroughly annihilate the aggressors when they strike us by force of arms. Only by holding fast to the principled stand of opposing imperialism and by waging a resolute anti-imperialist struggle, is it possible to check imperialist aggression and defend peace.

Especially, the socialist countries should be duly vigilant over the fact that the U.S. imperialists, while refraining to the best of their ability from worsening their relations with big countries, concentrate their aggression mainly on Vietnam and intend to swallow up such divided or small countries as Korea, Cuba and East Germany one by one. Attention should be directed at the same time to the possibility of the U.S. imperialists manoeuvring to ease the European situation or keep it in a stalemate temporarily in order to concentrate their efforts on aggression in Asia.

In this case, the easing of tension on one front would by no means contribute to improving the general international climate, but, on the contrary, provide conditions for the imperialists to intensify aggression on the other front. It, therefore, constitutes a greater threat to world peace and security.

In the present situation, the U.S. imperialists should be dealt blows and their forces be dispersed to the maximum in all parts and on every front in the world — in Asia and Europe, Africa and Latin America and in all countries, big and small — and they should be bound hand and foot everywhere they set foot so that they may not run wild. Only in this way, can we succeed in foiling the strategy of the U.S. imperialists to shatter the socialist countries and the international revolutionary forces one by one by concentrating their forces in this or that area or country.

Our Party and people will carry on the unflinching struggle against the U.S.-led imperialist forces of aggression and strive to unite with all the forces opposing U.S. imperialism.

To defend world peace, it is necessary to fight the U.S. allies, while struggling against U.S. imperialism. Struggles should be intensified against Japanese and West German militarism in particular.

Japanese and West German militarism have been revived rapidly under the active patronage of U.S. imperialism. Japan and West Germany are regenerating into hotbeds of war in Asia and Europe. Under these circumstances, we can never neglect the struggle against Japanese and West German militarism.

The socialist countries are fighting against the militarism of West Germany and that is a good thing. Our Party and people are opposed to the revival of West German militarism and its revanchist ambition, and strongly denounce the U.S. imperialists for their criminal machinations to actively encourage it. We support the struggle of the German people and the stand of the German Democratic Republic against the rearmament of the West German militarists.

We must be aware of the danger of Japanese militarism in Asia along with that of West German militarism in Europe. As all the socialist countries struggle against West German militarism along with U.S. imperialism in Europe, so they should fight against Japanese militarism along with U.S. imperialism in Asia.

Japanese militarism has made its appearance in Asia as a dangerous force of aggression today. The Japanese military forces harbour an illusion of realizing that old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" with U.S. backing. Japan's Sato Government, with the active support of U.S. imperialism, has not only mapped out the plans of war to invade Korea and other Asian nations but already started stretching its tentacles of aggression to South Korea.

A tripartite military alliance has virtually been formed among U.S. imperialism, the Sato Government of Japan and the South Korean puppet clique through bilateral military agreements. The Sato Government is actively joining U.S. imperialism in its aggression in Vietnam and sending large quantities of war supplies including various weapons to South Vietnam to fill U.S. orders. Japan serves the U.S. imperialist war of aggression as a supply and repair base, as a base of offensive operations.

At U.S. instigation, the Sato Government pursues a hostile policy towards our country and the other socialist countries in Asia. It also intensifies its economic and cultural infiltration into a number of Asian, African and Latin-American countries under the specious name of "aid," "joint development" and "economic and technical co-operation."

The struggle against Japanese militarism is a struggle to defend peace in Asia and the world and is an important part of the struggle against U.S. imperialism. All the socialist countries should attach importance to the struggle against Japanese militarism and frustrate its aggressive designs by concerted actions. Especially, they should thoroughly lay bare and baffle the schemes of the Sato Government to disorganize the anti-imperialist front under the guise of a "friend" of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American peoples.

As a matter of fact, there are certain contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the Japanese ruling circles, of which socialist countries may take advantage in the interests of the anti-imperialist struggle when they are aggravated in the future. But we must observe the whole aspects of the U.S.-Japanese relations. Despite their discords, U.S. imperialism and Japanese imperialism are bound together by an unequal alliance subordinating the latter to the former for their common interests in Asian aggression and are in league with each other politically, economically and militarily. The contradictions between the U.S. and Japan should not be overestimated and the subordinate alliance between the two should not be underestimated.

We should harbour no illusion whatever as to the Japanese ruling circles and should not pin any hope on them. If we overlook the danger of Japanese militarism and become intimate with the Sato Government, it is, in fact, tantamout to encouraging the foreign expansion of the Japanese ruling circles and to consolidating the position of U.S. imperialism in Asia.

The socialist countries may develop economic relations with Japan but should make no bargaining with its ruling circles on political questions. The relationship with the Sato Government should, in all circumstances, be formed in the interests of the Japanese people and in the general interests of the anti-imperialist struggle.

Today the Japanese people are fighting against U.S imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital and for defence of the security of Japan and world peace. Their struggle gives big blows to the Asian aggression of U.S. imperialism and to Japanese militarism and contributes to the cause of world peace.

The Korean people emphatically condemn the aggressive schemes of the Japanese militarists. Their rearmament and aggression against South Korea should be stopped decisively and the "South Korea-Japan Treaty" concluded under U.S. manipulation be abrogated. Japan should free herself from under U.S. imperialist domination and develop along the path of independence and democracy. The Korean people fully support and express militant solidarity with the Japanese people headed by the Communist Party of Japan in their struggle for the complete independence and democratic progress of Japan.

U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and the struggle of the Vietnamese people against it are the focal point of the struggle between the forces of revolution and the forces of counter-revolution at the present moment. U.S. aggression in Vietnam is not only direct-

ed against the people of Vietnam, but also against the socialist camp; it is a challenge to the national-liberation movement and a menace to peace in Asia and the world.

The Vietnamese people have risen as one in the sacred battle determinedly to smash U.S. imperialist aggression, to emancipate the South and defend the North and reunify the country. They are inflicting one serious political and military defeat after another upon the aggressors, thereby driving U.S. imperialism to the corner. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has already liberated four-fifths of South Vietnamese territory and two-thirds of its total population, while the North Vietnamese people are successfully repulsing the barbarous bombing by American air pirates. The heroic anti-U.S., national-salvation struggle of the people of North and South Vietnam has set an example to the people of the whole world fighting against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, and inspire them boundlessly.

On behalf of this Conference, I would like to extend the warmest militant greetings and congratulations to the fraternal people of North and South Vietnam who are attaining shining victories and accomplishing heroic feats in their righteous war of resistance against the U.S. aggressors.

The Vietnamese people are not only valiantly struggling for the complete liberation and independence of their country but also are shedding their blood on the battlefield to defend the socialist camp and safeguard peace in Asia and the world. What attitude one would take to U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam and to the Vietnamese people's struggle against it is a criterion that shows whether one is resolutely opposed to imperialism or not, and whether one actively supports the liberation struggle of the peoples or not. The attitude towards the Vietnam question is a touchstone that distinguishes between the revolutionary stand and the opportunist stand, between proletarian internationalism and national egoism.

All the socialist countries and peace-loving people should oppose the aggression of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and render every possible support to the people of Vietnam in their righteous war of liberation. As the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is being subjected to aggression by the U.S. imperialists, the socialist countries should fight more sharply against them and make every effort to support the people of Vietnam. There should be neither vacillation nor passivity whatever on this point.

All the socialist countries should, without exception, pool their strength and come to the aid of the fighting Vietnamese people and should foil the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam by joint efforts. At present however, the countries of the socialist camp are not keeping step with each other in opposing U.S. aggression and aiding the Vietnamese people because of the divergence of views among them. This afflicts the fighting people of Vietnam and really saddens us Communists.

The fraternal parties are not allowed to engage only in polemics over the Vietnam question at a moment when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is subjected to U.S. imperialist aggression. It is the Workers' Party of Vietnam that should and can settle the Vietnam question. No one has the last say except the Workers' Party of Vietnam on this question. The fraternal parties should at all times follow the line of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and support its stand as far as the Vietnam question is concerned. As regards the aid given by the fraternal countries to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, too, it is none other than the Workers' Party of Vietnam that can draw correct conclusions on it and the fraternal parties should pay regard to them.

Today's situation is different from that of yesterday when the Soviet Union was making revolution all alone. Since there was no other socialist country in the world at that time, the Soviet Union had to solve all problems, that of arms included, for itself. But today there exists the powerful socialist camp, and there is no reason why the Vietnamese people should not receive aid from the fraternal socialist countries in the harsh war against the common enemy. The socialist countries are duty bound to offer aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people are entitled to receive it. If such aid is used effectively for the battle against the U.S. aggressors, then it is all too good a thing, and is by no means a bad thing. In order to defeat the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, all the brotherly countries should give more aid to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Such, we consider, is the revolutionary stand of opposing the U.S. aggression in Vietnam in deed and such is the internationalist stand of helping the Vietnamese people in good earnest.

Now is not the time for the socialist countries to stand idly by, only extending political support to the people of Vietnam. They should take positive actions to aid the Vietnamese people. In the light of the situation where the U.S. imperialists are expanding aggression to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by bringing in troops of their coordination countries and puppets, every socialist country must dispatch volunteers to Vietnam to defend the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp and preserve peace in Asia and the world. This is its internationalist duty to the brotherly Vietnamese people. No one, whoever one may be, is allowed to oppose the socialist countries dispatching volunteers to Vietnam.

If all the socialist countries assist the Vietnamese people in shattering U.S. aggression, U.S. imperialism will be doomed like the sun setting in the west and the revolutionary movements in all countries in Asia and the rest of the world will upsurge greatly.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people regard U.S. aggression against Vietnam as one against themselves and regard the struggle of the Vietnamese people as their own. Our people will be more resolute in their battle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and will exert every possible effort to support the people of Vietnam. We are preparing to send our volunteers to join the Vietnamese brothers and sisters in their battle if so requested by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The sole and just solution to the Vietnam question is to implement the four-point position of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the five-point statement made by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic extend full support to this just position of the Vietnamese people.

The U.S. imperialists are now staging the fraudulent "peace talks" farce in an attempt to cover up another plot of war escalation. No amount of deceptive artifice, however, can help them to cloak their foul aggressive nature. We strongly denounce the plot of the U.S. imperialists to expand the war of aggression against Vietnam and condemn their "peace talks" hoax.

The U.S. imperialists must desist from all acts of aggression against the people of Vietnam at once and must get out of South Vietnam without delay taking their aggressive army, the troops of their satellites and puppets and all the lethal weapons with them. Should they continue to act recklessly in disregard of the repeated warnings of the Vietnamese people and the socialist countries and the strong condemnation of the people of the world, the U.S. imperialists will only suffer still more miserable defeats. Ultimate victory is on the side of the Vietnamese people who have risen in the righteous cause, and the U.S. imperialist aggressors will certainly be ruined.

Another question of international significance today is to defend the Cuban revolution. The victory of the Cuban revolution is the first victory of socialist revolution won under the very nose of the United States, it is a continuation of the great October Revolution in Latin America. It is a historic event that expanded the socialist camp to the Western Hemisphere and thereby brought about a turning point in the revolutionary movement in Latin America. The Republic of Cuba has become a base of revolution in Latin America.

Today, the Cuban people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba, firmly march ahead in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle, holding aloft the banner of revolution. They are firmly safeguarding their revolutionary gains and building socialism in difficult conditions, valiantly repulsing the uninterrupted acts of aggression and provocation perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists.

It is a sacred internationalist duty for the countries of the socialist camp and the Latin-American peoples to defend the Cuban revolution. The socialist countries should unstintedly support the brotherly Cuban people in their revolutionary cause, safeguard the revolution in Cuba and render positive assistance to the socialist construction in Cuba. We Communists who consider the interests of revolution the supreme law cannot act otherwise with regard to Cuba.

It is quite natural that Cuba should receive aid from the socialist countries, and the fraternal parties and countries should welcome it. This is demanded by the Cuban revolution and the interests of the revolution in Latin America. We should fully understand the circumstances in which Cuba is placed and the position of the Communist Party of Cuba.

The Communist Party of Cuba knows the Cuban question better than any one else, and it is this Party and no one else that can map out correct policies to suit the actual conditions of Cuba. Any socialist country is only duty bound to respect the policies pursued by the Communist Party of Cuba and support the struggle of the Cuban people. No attempt should be made to exert pressure to bear upon the Communist Party and people of Cuba and split the revolutionary forces in Latin America.

The Workers' Party of Korea has fully supported and is still supporting the just stand of the Communist Party of Cuba which, under the banner of revolution, correctly leads revolution and construction in its country and strives for the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement. Our Party and people categorically condemn the aggressive moves of the U.S. imperialists against Cuba and powerfully support the heroic struggle of the Cuban people to uphold their revolutionary gains and build socialism. We will, as in the past, continue to do all we can to cement our friendship and unity with the Communist Party and people of Cuba.

Tremendous revolutionary changes are taking place in the life of the African and Latin-American peoples today. Their national-liberation movement, along with the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for socialism, is a great revolutionary force of our times and a powerful factor conducive to universal peace.

It is amidst the unprecedented upsurge of the national-liberation movement that so many countries have attained national independence and embarked upon the building of a new life. The peoples of those countries which are still under colonial oppression are fighting more and more vigorously for freedom and liberation.

But the imperialists are not willing to get out of colonies. Moreover, they resort to all sorts of artifice to grab and control even an inch more of land. They suppress the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and carry out subversive activities to tear newly independent nations away from the anti-imperialist front one by one. While resorting to blunt force, they attempt to worm into the new-born independent nations with "aid" as a bait with a view to meddling in the internal affairs of those nations and subverting them from within.

In recent years, the U.S. imperialists have intensified their subversive activities and plots against the governments in the newly independent nations. They endeavour to bribe and whip together the local reactionaries, thereby inciting them to oppose the progressive forces and turn certain new-born independent

countries to the Right. They work in this way to have those countries suppress the revolutionary forces internally, and then externally, oppose the socialist countries and disorganize the anti-imperialist forces.

India can be cited as an example. The reactionary forces in India try to turn the country more and more to the Right at imperialist instigation. As the might of the socialist countries grows and the revolutionary movement develops in Asia, they fear it should exert influence upon the hungry and ragged masses of their people. That is why the Indian reactionary forces suppress the progressive forces at home, while aggravating relations with neighbouring nations. By so doing, they work craftily to cover up the deepening social and class contradictions at home and divert the attention of her people elsewhere, and to prevent the revolutionary influence from coming in from without. We should guard against the reactionary forces of India suppressing the progressive forces at home and carrying hostile acts against the socialist countries.

Also, we cannot but direct our attention to the recent Indonesian situation. There in Indonesia, the Communist Party and progressive public organizations have been outlawed by the Rightist reactionary forces, large numbers of Communists and progressive personalities have been arrested, imprisoned and slaughtered and the anti-communist campaign is still going on. This is done at the instigation of U.S. imperialism as part of its plan for Asian aggression.

We strongly protest the Rightist reactionary forces against their suppression and massacre of the Indonesian Communist Party and democratic forces. We express firm solidarity with the Communists and the progressive forces of Indonesia in their struggle against the machinations of U.S. imperialism and the local reactionary forces to divert Indonesia to the Right and for national independence and the democratic development of the country.

Developments in Indonesia offer a serious lesson to all Communists. It shows that the more the Communist Parties and revolutionary forces grow, the more desperately foreign imperialism and local reactionary forces manoeuvre to stifle them. Communists should maintain the sharpest vigilance over this and always be prepared to counter possible savage suppression of the enemy organizationally and ideologically, strategically and tactically. Revolution is complicated and requires a scientific art of leadership. It can be won only when the line of struggle is set forth scientifically and scrupulously and the most appropriate time is chosen to unfold a decisive fight on the basis of a correct judgement on the revolutionary situation and an exact calculation of the balance of forces between the two opposing sides. We should deeply bear in mind such experiences and lessons of the international revolutionary movement and make good use of them in our own revolutionary struggle.

Much is still to be done to eradicate the imperialist colonial system in Asia, Africa and Latin America and achieve the complete liberation and independence of nations. The road of national liberation is the one of arduous struggle, in the course of which one encounters a desperate resistance on the part of the imperialists and reactionaries and undergoes many hardships and trials.

The attainment of political independence is merely an initial step towards the ultimate victory for the national-liberation revolution. Those peoples who have won independence are confronted with the task of opposing the subversive activities of the foreign imperialists and local forces of reaction and carry the cause of national liberation through to the end. For this purpose, the machine of imperialist colonial rule should be destroyed, imperialism and the local reactionaries be deprived of their economic footholds, the revolutionary forces should be strengthened and a progressive socio-political system be established, and independent national economies and national culture should be built. Only in this way, can the peoples of the new-born independent nations eliminate the centuries-old backwardness and penury left over by colonial rule and construct rich and strong, independent and sovereign states.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic positively support the peoples of all newly independent countries in their struggle to consolidate national independence and bring about national prosperity. We shall continue to endeavour for the promotion of our relations of friendship and co-operation with newly independent nations. Our Party and our Government consider it an important principle of foreign policy to support the struggle of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American peoples against imperialism and for freedom and liberation. The Korean people trenchantly condemn the aggressive actions of the U.S. imperialists against the Laotian people and fully support the struggle of the Laotian people for national independence. Our people support the righteous struggle of the Cambodian people against the aggression and intervention of U.S. imperialism and its stooges, for independence, neutrality and territorial integrity. We support and express militant solidarity with the liberation struggles carried on by the Congolese (K) and Venezuelan peoples and the rest of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American peoples.

We also support and extend firm solidarity with the working class and the toiling people of the capitalist countries in their revolutionary struggle against the exploitation and oppression of capital and for democratic rights and socialism. Our Party and people will always stand firmly on the side of the peoples battling for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism and will strive to strengthen unity with them.

Comrades, the socialist camp and the international communist movement have been experiencing harsh trials in recent years. Modern revisionism and dogmatism have laid grave obstacles to the development of the international revolutionary movement.

We can bring about the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement and fight on successfully against imperialism by overcoming the Right and "Left" opportunism and defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Marxism-Leninism has developed and attained victory in the struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism. Experience shows that various deviations from Marxism-Leninism emerge in the course of revolution. There is nothing to be surprised at in this. As long as imperialism remains and the class struggle goes on, this is reflected in the working-class movement as Right and "Left" opportunism and struggles are waged against them. This is somewhat inevitable.

Right and "Left" opportunism are the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas appearing in the working-class movement. They distort the revolutionary quintessence of Marxism-Leninism and do harm to revolution from both extremes. We, therefore, must fight on both fronts against Right and "Left" opportunism.

Modern revisionism revises Marxism-Leninism and emasculates its revolutionary quintessence under the pretext of the so-called changing situation and creative development. It rejects the class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, preaches class collaboration and gives up fighting imperialism. Besides, modern revisionism spreads illusions about imperialism and obstructs the revolutionary struggle of the peoples for social and national liberation in every way.

It is true that modern revisionism has been dealt a severe blow by the principled struggle of the Marxist-Leninist parties and is on the decline. This, however, does not mean that it has been liquidated completely. Modern revisionism still remains a big menace to the international communist movement. It finds expression also in the revelation of weakness to imperialism and the passive approach towards the revolutionary struggle of the peoples. We, therefore, cannot slight the struggle against modern revisionism.

We must fight "Left" opportunism, as well as modern revisionism. "Left" opportunism takes no heed to the changed realities and recites individual propositions of Marxism-Leninism in a dogmatic manner, and leads people to the extremist action under superrevolutionary slogans. Furthermore, it divorces the Party from the masses, splits the revolutionary forces and thereby prevents any concentrated attack on the main enemy.

When "Left" opportunism is aggravated, it, too, can become as big a threat as modern revisionism both to individual parties and to the international communist movement. Without fighting "Left" opportunism, it is impossible to unite the anti-imperialist forces to carry out a successful struggle against imperialism, nor is it possible to battle against modern revisionism efficiently.

Thus both modern revisionism and "Left" opportunism cause tremendous obstacles to the advancement of the international revolutionary movement. It is wrong not to see the danger of "Left" opportunism for opposing modern revisionsm, and it is likewise wrong not to see the danger of modern revisionsm for fighting "Left" opportunism. Unless Right and "Left" opportunism are overcome, it is impossible to lead revolution and construction correctly in each country, nor is it possible to step up the international revolutionary movement powerfully.

The struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism is inseparably related with the struggle for the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement. Our Party will fight on against Right and "Left" opportunism, while upholding the banner of unity. We should not commit the "Leftist" error of rejecting cohesion for fighting opportunism, nor should we commit the Rightist error of giving up the struggle against opportunism for defending unity. Our Party will do all it can to safeguard the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, while carrying on the uncompromising struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism.

The socialist camp and the international communist movement are the decisive factors that govern the development of the history of mankind at the present time. They are the greatest revolutionary forces of our times that stand face to face with imperialism and all the forces of reaction. The existence of the united and powerful socialist camp and international communist movement checks the imperialist policies of aggression and war and inspires the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the whole world.

The imperialists are fearful of the socialist camp and the international communist movement more than anything else. It is for this reason that they have incessantly perpetrated and are still perpetrating armed aggressions and subversive activities against the socialist countries. The imperialists now attempt to swallow them up one by one.

Under these circumstances, what is most important is to defend the socialist camp jointly from imperialist aggression and, for this purpose, the socialist camp must stand firmly united as one. And yet, it does not advance at the present moment as a monolithic rank, as a united force due to its internal differences. This exerts a negative influence upon the development of the world revolutionary movement and the international situation.

It is a sacred duty for every Communist to fight to defend the socialist camp and uphold its unity. We Communists must not tolerate any act of weakening the unity of the socialist camp. Renegades of the revolution must not be brought into the socialist camp, nor must this or that country be excluded from it artificially. All this is an act of disorganizing the socialist camp. We cannot suffer anyone to destroy the socialist camp which was won by the working class of the whole world with their blood. This is a matter of principle that concerns the destiny of the socialist camp and the future of the international revolutionary movement.

We cannot replace the socialist camp with any community of a different character.

To introduce the Titoites of Yugoslavia into the ranks of the

socialist camp and the international communist movement is to weaken the unity of this camp and the cohesion of this movement. The Tito clique betrayed Marxism-Leninism and broke away from the socialist camp and the international communist movement; they are opposed to the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties and engage in activities of disrupting the international revolutionary movement. They have long forfeited the qualification to be admitted into the socialist camp and the international communist movement for such acts of theirs.

We have no objection, of course, to the socialist countries developing state relations with Yugoslavia. However, we cannot recognize Yugoslavia as a member of the socialist camp and place the "League of Communists of Yugoslavia" in the same line with the Communist and Workers' Parties. The wrong approach to Yugoslavia, together with other problems, constitutes an obstacle to restoring the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement today.

On the other hand, we have to oppose the attempt to deny the existence of the socialist camp and split this camp and the international communist movement. If the socialist camp, the international communist movement and each party split in two, it cannot be a normal, and still less a welcome, state of things. We must seek unity through struggle.

It is really regrettable for the Communists of the whole world that the differences among the fraternal parties have become so serious that they have passed the ideological and theoretical limits and can hardly be settled now. But, however serious they may be, the differences among the fraternal parties are still an internal affair of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Differences among the parties must not be developed into an organizational split, but must, in all circumstances, be settled by means of ideological struggle proceeding from the desire for unity.

No socialist country must be excluded from the socialist camp and the international communist movement. No one should make exaggerated or distorted appraisal of any fraternal country or fraternal party, or consider any of the 13 socialist countries as being outside the socialist camp and the international communist movement. We are of the opinion that utmost prudence should be used in appraising the leadership of any fraternal country or fraternal party.

Relationship between the fraternal parties should in no way be considered hostile as that with imperialism. When the leadership of any fraternal party commits an error Communists should offer comradely criticism and help it to return to the right path.

Meanwhile, one cannot draw a hasty conclusion on the character of society in fraternal countries on the basis of individual phenomena which are observed in various aspects of their social life. The character of a given society is defined according to the class which holds power and the form of ownership of the means of production.

We must clearly grasp the difference between the socialist and capitalist countries. There exists the fundamental contradiction between the socialist and capitalist countries which emanates from their essentially different social systems. This contradiction exists objectively, whether one likes it or not. Various measures taken by the leaders may intensify or alleviate contradictions between the socialist and capitalist countries but as far as the social systems are opposed to each other, the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism can by no means be eliminated.

One should not place any fraternal country in the same category as the enemy or push it away onto the side of the imperialists even if it has certain negative aspects. We Communists can never allow ourselves to be prejudiced or fall into subjectivism in their approach towards the fraternal praties and countries.

Our Party considers that even if there are differences, one should refrain from making a hasty conclusion on any fraternal party and fraternal country and should try them out through struggle for the time being. In the meantime, it would be possible to promote unity with them under the condition that they oppose imperialism, support the national-liberation movement and do not interfere in the internal affairs of other fraternal parties and fraternal countries. We must adopt a positive attitude of criticising their positive side and helping them to rectify it, while appreciating and supporting their positive side.

In the opinion of our Party, it is a good thing for all the socialist countries to continue to march in the revolutionary ranks together proceeding from the interests of the international communist movement. Then, the might of the socialist camp can be strengthened and bigger blows can be dealt at imperialism.

The socialist camp is in a complicated situation now because of the divergence of views, but it is there to stay. No one can liquidate the socialist camp at one's own discretion. Even if any one brings a non-socialist country into the socialist camp, it cannot become a socialist country. On the other hand, if any one excludes a socialist country from the socialist camp artificially, it cannot cease to be a socialist country.

The socialist camp is an integral whole which is united on the common political and economic basis and knitted together with each other for the same purpose of socialist and communist construction. All the socialist countries form the socialist camp as equal members thereof. The more countries stay in the socialist camp, the better it will be. It cannot be a bad thing. The ultimate victory of the world revolution is achieved through the victory of revolution in each country and the expansion of the socialist camp.

Our Party has always defended the whole socialist camp and is opposed to all acts of splitting it. Our Party will continue to unite with all the fraternal parties and the fraternal countries, while fighting Right and "Left" opportunism. We will fight on determinedly to uphold the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and the proletarian internationalism, on the revolutionary principles of the Declaration and Statement of the meetings of the representatives of the fraternal parties.

The U.S. imperialists now take advantage of the disunity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement to further intensify aggression and plunder everywhere in the world. Particularly, they are expanding their aggressive war against the Vietnamese people by throwing in a huge number of armed forces.

It is true that the peace-loving people are launching extensive campaigns to oppose U.S. imperialist aggression and support the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people on all the continents of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. But we Communists cannot be satisfied with this alone. We must better organize the struggle to aid the Vietnamese people against the aggressive war of U.S. imperialism on an international scale and advance it onto a higher stage. As the U.S. imperialists are escalating the war of aggression in Vietnam so the people of the whole world should escalate their struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism and aid the Vietnamese people.

To this end, it is most important to achieve an anti-imperialist joint action on an international scale and form an anti-imperialist united front.

The attainment of the anti-imperialist joint action and anti-imperialist united front is the most urgent question of principle which is presented to the international communist movement today. It concerns the fundamental question of whether the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war can be checked or not, whether the socialist camp can be defended or not, whether the national-liberation movement can be stepped up or not and whether world peace and security can be safeguarded or not.

The anti-imperialist joint action and anti-imperialist united front, when materialized, would make it possible to unfold the campaign to aid the Vietnamese people more powerfully and to frustrate the U.S. imperialists' policies of aggression and war and safeguard Asian and world peace. It could also provide conditions for gradually overcoming the differences among the fraternal parties and recovering the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, and make it possible to accelerate the revolutionary movement in all countries more positively. Anti-imperialist joint action is, therefore, absolutely necessary not only for the benefit of the cause of peace but for the benefit of the cause of revolution.

As soon as U.S. imperialism started armed aggression against Vietnam, our Party proposed to wage an anti-imperialist joint struggle to make a collective counter attack on the aggressors. A number of other fraternal parties have proposed the same.

But the anti-imperialist joint struggle has not yet been actualized due to the differences within the international communist movement. We consider that the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties must tide over this situation and pool strength in opposing U.S. imperialism and aiding the people of Vietnam in their struggle.

All the socialist countries have, on a number of occasions, condemned the Vietnam aggression by U.S. imperialism and expressed the position of their party and state in support of the fighting Vietnamese brothers. And all of them are giving economic and military aid to the people of Vietnam. The Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist countries, too, are active in their struggle to oppose the U.S. imperialist war of aggression and to support the Vietnamese people.

From this, we consider that despite the differences over a number of questions, there is an initial basis for taking anti-imperialist joint action in countering U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam and aiding the Vietnamese people. We should not ignore this and should strive energetically to bring about an anti-imperialist united front.

Any refusal of an anti-imperialist joint action is not an attitude contributing to truly defending the purity of Marxism-Leninism against revisionism and cementing the unity of the socialist camp and the cohesion of the international communist movement, and cannot be regarded as an attitude of opposing U.S. imperialism and aiding the fighting Vietnamese people.

The basic strategy of the world revolution today is to direct the spearhead of attack to U.S. imperialism.

We must distinguish clearly between the enemies and the friend who has made an error. The enemies should be beaten, whereas the friend who has made a mistake should be criticised to take the right path. We should in this way join efforts with all friends and fight the main enemy.

In the struggle against U.S. imperialism, we must strive to take joint action with the Communist and Workers' Parties and democratic public organizations of all countries and international democratic organizations. It is true that these organizations are not of the same opinion on various problems, and their positions, too, differ from each other and their composition is also complex. But they have the vast masses under them. To enlist still larger masses in the anti-imperialist struggle, Communists must not reject joint action with these organizations.

Communists should not stick only to differences but turn their eyes on common points in their views as well, and should always observe the whole aspects of the matter, and refrain from running to an extreme. If we fail to take joint action with the Communist and Workers' Parties and democratic public organizations of all countries and international democratic organizations, the vast masses united under them will fall out from the anti-imperialist front. Without the masses there is no carrying on the revolution. By acting in concert with these organizations, we can approach and exert revolutionary influence upon the masses affiliated with them, and mobilize them for the anti-imperialist struggle. Any refusal to take anti-imperialist joint ac-

tion means to be divorced from the masses and go in for isolationism and, in fact, it will only bring about the serious consequence of undermining the anti-imperialist struggle.

Communists should under no circumstances be hidebound. We must rally all the anti-imperialist forces and unfold a struggle against imperialism by a united force. It is a basic principle of the communist strategy and tactics today to extend the anti-imperialist front by winning over more allies, even if they be not a consistent and steadfast force, to isolate U.S. imperialism to the largest possible extent and deal blows to it by joint action.

The history of the international communist movement knows many instances of the Communists taking joint action with the Right social democrats in the struggle against imperialist wars. The united front policy of the Communists played an important role in the past in mobilizing the people for the struggle against imperialist wars.

In the historical conditions of today when the world's socialist forces have grown stronger, there exist greater possibilities for realizing the anti-imperialist joint action on an international scale. Drawing on the historical experience of the international communist movement, we must exploit even the slightest possibility to unfold a powerful joint anti-imperialist struggle.

It has become an international trend of today to condemn the aggressive war of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and give support to the Vietnamese people. Even those who once took to revisionism have found it hardly possible to hold out before the world public opinion without supporting the Vietnamese people. This is a good thing, by no means bad. Of course, there can be various categories of people among those who come out against U.S. imperialism in support of the Vietnamese people. There may be some who condemn the U.S. imperialists' aggression and support the Vietnamese people in order to make up for their past mistakes which they repent. Others may join in the anti-imperialist struggle against their will under pressure from their own people and the people throughout the world, although their fundamental position still remains unchanged.

But, whatever their motives, it is necessary to enlist all these forces in the joint anti-imperialist struggle. If there is one who would like to rectify his past mistakes on the Vietnam question at least, this is undoubtedly a good, welcome thing. And even if anyone opposes U.S. imperialism and supports the Vietnamese people, though reluctantly, under pressure from the peoples, that will likewise be conducive, and not inimical, to the anti-imperialist struggle.

It is our belief that the more forces are drawn into the joint anti-imperialist struggle, the better it will be. It is necessary to induce reluctant people to join in the anti-imperialist struggle and encourage the passive people to take up a positive attitude in this struggle.

Furthermore, the joint struggle against U.S. imperialism will draw a clear line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists. It will be clarified through actual struggle whether one's opposition to U.S. imperialism is real or sham, whether one's support to the Vietnamese people is real or sham. Practice is the yardstick that tells right from wrong. Opportunism can be overcome in the practical revolutionary struggle as well as in the ideological struggle.

In materializing joint action, the Communists must always adhere to the principle of uniting while fighting and of fighting while uniting. The joint action we advocate does not mean unconditional unity or unprincipled compromise. What we mean is to take concerted action and join strength with the anti-imperialist forces in opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting the Vietnamese people, while abiding by the Marxist-Leninist principles. In this way we should, in the course of our joint struggle, criticize and overcome the opportunist elements, support and encourage the anti-imperialist aspects.

We consider that the anti-imperialist joint action by no means conflicts with the struggle against revisionism. Rather, it is a positive form of struggle against opportunism of all hues. It is a correct policy to realize the joint action and united front against imperialism, a policy which not only makes it possible to carry on a successful struggle against imperialism but brings about the revolutionary awakening of the masses, enabling them to oppose all kinds of opportunist trends and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

It is an urgent task for the Communists of the whole world today to work out and take concrete measures for joint action in opposing U.S. imperialism and supporting the Vietnamese people.

We deem it necessary for the socialist countries, first of all, to dispatch international volunteers to assist the fighting people of Vietnam. This will be the first step towards the realization of joint action against imperialism. If we dispatch international volunteers to Vietnam, it will prove a serious blow to the U.S. imperialist aggressors and make them desist from reckless escalation of the war of aggression in Vietnam.

We must actively see to it that the international democratic organizations also take joint action against imperialism. They must make it their central task to oppose U.S. imperialism and give support to the fighting peoples. Thus, the democratic public organizations in all countries should be made to achieve the anti-imperialist joint action through the medium of the international democratic organizations, and all the international democratic organizations should take joint action to oppose U.S. imperialism in union and to support the peoples of the fighting countries. If the anti-imperialist joint action is achieved in this way in the activities of the international democratic organizations, it will display a great force.

But these measures alone will not fully solve the question of realizing the anti-imperialist joint action and united front. The most important thing is to provide conditions for the fraternal parties to attain the anti-imperialist joint action. The Communist and Workers' Parties should, first of all, wage an uncompromising struggle against imperialism and give active support to the revolutionary movements of the peoples, each in the conditions in which they are placed. In this course, we should gradually narrow down the differences and create an atmosphere conducive to mutual contacts. And when definite conditions are created, the fraternal parties may hold a consultation and discuss the question of the anti-imperialist joint action in a concrete way.

We have to work actively despite all difficulties to realize the anti-imperialist joint action and anti-imperialist united front on an international scale. This, we believe, is the way for all the fraternal parties to be loyal to the Marxist-Leninist principles and discharge their internationalist duties at the present time.

It is a matter of importance in the international communist movement that the Communist and Workers' Parties adhere to the principle of independency. Only when each party has independency can it successfully carry on the revolution in its country and contribute to the world revolution, and can the cohesion of the international communist movement be strengthened. To be independent is each party's sacred right which no one is allowed to violate, and each party is in duty bound to respect the independency of other fraternal parties. Respect for independency is prerequisite and basic to the unity and cooperation of the fraternal parties. This unity and cooperation can be truly voluntary, solid and comradely only if all of them respect each other's independency.

The mutual relations of the fraternal parties should be based on the principles of complete equality, independency, mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and comradely cooperation. These are norms defined at the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist parties of all countries on the basis of the historical experience of the international communist movement, and their correctness has already been confirmed in life. Among the Communist and Workers' Parties without exception must strictly abide by and be true to these standards. If they should ever be violated, complicated problems will arise between fraternal parties, the unity of the international communist movement will be undermined and many difficulties will crop up in the forward movement.

In recent years there have been incessant violations of the norms governing the mutual relations of the fraternal parties in the international communist movement. This has given rise to the complicated problems in the international communist movement and offered serious obstacles to the unity of the fraternal parties.

All parties must respect other parties on an equal footing and strive to maintain comradely relations with each other. There can be neither senior nor junior party, nor a party that leads and a party that is led among the Communist and Workers' Parties. No party is entitled to claim a privileged position in the international communist movement.

There is no international organization in the international communist movement which gives a unified leadership to the activities of the parties of all countries. The times have changed and the days are gone when the communist movement needed an international centre. After the dissolution of the Third International there is no more "centre" or "pivot" in the international communist movement. It is therefore impossible that a "centre" of the revolution should shift from one country to another. It is impossible, moreover, that any one country becomes the "centre of the world revolution" or any one party becomes the "leading party" in the international communist movement.

The revolution in each country is being carried on by its people under the leadership of its own party, and not by a certain international "centre" or by the party of any other country. Communists accept no "pivot" or "centre" whatsoever in the international communist movement. If they accepted it, it would mean that a certain party is allowed to enjoy a privileged position. Then some parties would rise to a higher position from where they would be able to give instructions and orders to other parties, whereas the latter would be compelled to obey and worship the former. Should such a relationship be allowed to exist between the fraternal parties, it will deprive each party of its independency and even of the possibility to carry on revolution and construction in its own country independently. This kind of relationship can never be tolerated in the international communist movement.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, as equal members of the international communist movement, are making contributions together to the development of the international revolutionary movement and Marxism-Leninism.

If they are to play the role of a vanguard detachment in the revolution, they must be guided solely by Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is the most scientific and revolutionary theory tested in practice and the acme of all the progressive ideologies of mankind.

It sets out general laws which must be observed without fail in the revolution and construction in all countries. Each party, applying Marxism-Leninism creatively to the realities of its country, should work out and carry into practice its own guiding theory for the revolution and construction in its own country. It cannot lead the revolution and construction with the guiding theory of other parties.

Each party's guiding theory has significance only within the bounds of its country. Each country's realities being different from the others', the guiding theory of a party, however excellent, does not fit another country. It is therefore impossible to put up any one party's guiding theory as that for the Communists of all lands, and it must not be imposed upon other parties.

For the Korean Communists the only guiding principle is Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of our Party worked out through its creative application to the actual conditions of our country. For us there can be no other leading ideology than this.

The Communists must under no

circumstances be presumptuous or impose their views upon other parties. It is not permissible among the Communist and Workers' Parties for any party to bring pressure to bear upon other parties or interfere in their internal affairs because the latter do not toe its own lines. In the international communist movement, however, there are still instances of some parties imposing their views and lines upon other parties, and bringing pressure to bear upon the latter and interfering in their internal affairs because they do not accept those views and lines.

The interference by certain fraternal parties in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Japan is one of such instances. Even if there exist differences, fraternal parties should not back up the anti-party factionalists within another party, sow confusion in it and split the democratic movement in its country. Interference from outside has brought serious difficulties to the activities of the Communist Party of Japan. For all these difficulties, however, the Communist Party of Japan opposes interference in its internal affairs and upholds its independence with all consistency, and is unwaveringly leading the revolutionary movement of the Japanese people.

Our Party, too, has had a bitter experience of interference by great-power chauvinists in its internal affairs. Needless to say, those great-power chauvinists got due rebuff. At that time we, in the interests of the revolution and proceeding from a desire to preserve unity, settled the issue among ourselves, though it was hard for us to endure. In the future, too, we should oppose all manner of interference in our internal affairs and guard against great-power chauvinism.

In the international communist movement there is no party which has a monopoly of the right to frame arbitrary conclusions on the problems of principle. No party should assert arbitrary conclusions on important international issues and force other parties to accept them. The Communist and Workers' Parties must discuss matters of common concern and act in line with the conclusions agreed upon between them. Only then can the unity of purpose and action be guaranteed.

Each party should be careful not to be carried away by subjectivism in dealing with important international issues or in relation to the fraternal parties. Communists must not appraise any fraternal parties rashly or harbour prejudices against them because the latter do not obey them or have different views.

Any party must not regard other fraternal parties as going against Marxism-Leninism because their stand is different from its own. And let there be no such practices as arbitrarily attaching various labels to the fraternal parties which maintain an independent position. There are certain persons at present who attach the labels of "middle-roadism," "eclecticism," "opportunism," and the like to our Party and other Marxist-Leninist parties. They say we are taking the "road of unprincipled compromise" and "sitting straddling two chairs." This is nonsense. We have our own chair. Why should we give up our own chair and sit uncomfortably straddling two others' chairs? We will always sit on our upright Marxist-Leninist chair. Those who accuse us, who are sitting on our upright chair, of sitting straddling two chairs, are no doubt sitting on a chair crooked to the left or to the right.

The slanders against our Party merely serve to prove that our Party not only opposes Right opportunism but also is uncompromising with "Left" opportunism, and is firmly adhering only to the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism. We oppose opportunism of all hues, because we are Marxist-Leninists. A Communist should not argue haughtily that whatever he does is right and whatever others do is wrong.

It is impermissible to behave like this among comrades fighting for the common cause. Communists may have different opinions on this or that matter, though they are all guided by Marxism-Leninism. But even in such cases, they must have an understanding of each other, hold sincere consultations and strive for unity. This is the rule of conduct the Communists must observe.

All Communists have their own standpoint and can tell right from wrong. When a party has ties with other parties, the former cannot be regarded unjustly as subscribing to the latter's lines and policies or blindly taking the cue from them. Regarding others with suspicion is a specific feature of great-power chauvinism and sectarianism. Great-power chauvinists and sectarians suspect others without reason and like to divide sides. We would not take any "side." Should anyone ask us which "side" we are on, we would answer we are on the "side" of Marxism-Leninism, on the "side" of the revolution. Communists should not take a prejudiced view of the independent activities of any fraternal parties and should not be too much inquisitive about them.

The activities of all the Communist and Workers' Parties cannot be fitted in any particular kind of framework. The policies of the fraternal parties cannot be the same, because the actual conditions and revolutionary tasks in each country are different from those in other countries. The unified line of the international communist movement by no means excludes diversity in the policies of individual parties.

The Communists must check great-power chauvinism in the international communist movement. This requires that the fraternal parties do not follow anyone blindly but should maintain independency and reject great-power chauvinism. And all the parties should unite and prevent anyone from holding sway over the socialist camp and the international communist movement, preclude great-power chauvinism from exerting influence. If no one echoes and follows great-power chauvinism, no matter who may flourish it, it will become impotent and produce no effect. Only when great-power chauvinism disappears, can the independency of all parties be assured firmly and the relations between the fraternal parties be developed in a healthy way.

Communists must learn to hold fast to their conviction under any circumstances. A Communist, if ever he is one, cannot follow in the wake of others blindly, parroting what others say and move about in others' steps without his own conviction.

It is not on instructions from anyone nor to curry favour with him that the Communists are engaged in the revolution. They carry on the revolution out of their own faith in Marxism-Leninism for the emancipation of the working class and the working people in their countries, for the great cause of the international working class. It is a noble trait of the Communists to adhere to their conviction and fight unyieldingly for its sake.

The present situation in the international communist movement dictates us to maintain the principle of independency and autonomy more firmly. If we lack independency and autonomy and follow in others' steps in present-day conditions, we cannot hope for principle and consistency in our lines and policies. This not only will eventually do an enormous harm to our revolution and construction, but will inflict a great loss on the international communist movement.

We can and will never dance to the tune of others. Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist principles and the actual conditions of our country, we should work out our lines and policies for ourselves and implement them. In this way, we should push ahead vigorously with the revolution and construction. In the sphere of international activities, too, we must uphold our independent position on the basis of our conviction.

Our Party's independent position is linked closely with the principle of proletarian internationalism. Being internationalists, we categorically reject isolationism and nationalism. We immensely treasure the international solidarity of the working class and value the unity and co-operation with the fraternal parties and fraternal countries. We deem it necessary to set store by the experience of other parties and learn from each other. What we are against is the tendency to follow others blindly without independency, only depending on others without faith in one's own strength, swallowing the experience of others whole without approaching it critically.

We should continually develop our relations with the fraternal parties and fraternal countries on the basis of a correct combination of the principles of independency and unity. We maintain that the socialist camp and the international communist movement should unite in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in accordance with the Declaration and Statement of the meetings of representatives of the fraternal parties.

To unite and co-operate on the basis of equality and independency and to maintain independency while consolidating international solidarity are the firm policy our Party has been consistently following in its relations with the fraternal parties and fraternal countries. This policy not only accords with the interests of the revolution and construction in our country but also is fully consistent with the interests of the international communist movement. It will conduce to surmounting the difficulties existing in the international communist movement at present and achieving a genuine unity.

The international developments and various events in the international communist movement in recent years have strikingly confirmed once again the correctness of the lines and policies of our Party.

All our successes are associated with our Party line of independency. It was thanks to this line that our Party has not made Right or "Left" deviations as regards our lines in its internal and external activities and has been able to avoid errors on the matters of principle.

Today the international prestige of our Party has grown and the international position of our Republic has been consolidated. We have won innumerable friends and sympathizers throughout the world. Our Party line of independency in the international communist movement is receiving support from more and more fraternal parties. The achievements made by our Party in its foreign activities inspire us with due confidence and pride.

Our Party will, as in the past, continue to hold fast to the line of independency in its internal and external activities, safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism against Right and "Left" opportunism, and abide by the principles contained in the Declaration and Statement of the Meetings of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. Our Party will endeavour to defend the unity of the socialist camp and solidarity of the international communist movement based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, oppose imperialism in close unity with the people of the whole world, and carry the revolution through to the end.

2. On the Acceleration of Socialist Construction and the Strengthening of Our Revolutionary Base

Comrades, the greatest national task confronting the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people at the present stage is to accomplish the country's unification, and the triumph of the revolution on a nation-wide scale. To do so, it is necessary first of all

to push ahead vigorously with the revolution and construction in North Korea where the people have already taken power into their hands and are building a new life, and to turn it into a powerful base of our revolution. The advancement of socialist construction and growth of the revolutionary forces in North Korea constitute the decisive guarantee for the unification of our country and triumph of the Korean revolution as a whole. By enlisting all the potentials of the Party and the people, we must further accelerate socialist construction in North Korea and build up our base of revolution politically, economically and militarily.

It is of paramount importance in our revolutionary struggle and construction work today to reorganize all work of socialist construction in line with the requirements of the prevailing situation and, in particular, to carry on the building of the economy and defences in parallel so as to increase our defence capabilities in the light of the enemy's aggressive schemes. This is the basic strategic line of our Party which has been implemented for several years now in connection with the changed situation. In the future too, we must follow this line of the Party with all firmness and consistency and base ourselves on it in all our work.

How to combine economic construction with the upbuilding of national defence poses as one of the fundamental questions on which depends the future of the building of socialism and communism. We Communists should reject all manner of deviations which may possibly appear in this respect, and settle the matter in a correct way.

It is wrong to neglect normal economic construction while putting stress only on defence building under the pretext that a war will reduce everything to ashes once it breaks out. So is it to fail to fully strengthen defence potentials while putting stress only on economic construction, affected by a peaceful mood.

Of course, the danger of war cannot disappear so long as imperialism remains, and a great deal will be destroyed once a war breaks out. If one should neglect necessary economic construction for that reason, fearing war and the resultant devastation, it is impossible to increase the might of the country and improve the people's living standards, and it would become entirely impossible to build socialism and communism before the downfall of imperialism. The danger of war engendered by the imperialists and the wars of aggression unleashed by them may possibly delay or temporarily interrupt our economic construction, but can never check our onward march towards socialism and communism.

On the other hand, the people can prevent war and preserve and consolidate peace by waging an energetic struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. Even so, should one fail to build up national defence properly, calculating simply that war will not break out, the danger of war can grow and it will become utterly impossible to protect the revolutionary gains and defend the country and the people against imperialist aggression, let alone building socialism and communism. The possibility of preventing war is no more than a possibility, and as long as there is imperialism, there can be no absolute guarantee of peace and a war may break out at any moment.

We should neither overestimate nor underrate the danger of war and the effect of its destruction on our socialist construction. Even if there is a growing danger of war, we, while increasing our defence potential, must energetically continue with economic construction to make our country mighty and prosperous, to improve the people's livelihood and quicken the forward movement to socialism and communism. Our experience shows that even if a war breaks out and causes great destruction, we can build a new life again, so long as we have the Party, the Government, the people and the territory. At the same time, even if a war is not likely to break out now, we must continue to reinforce defence capabilities and get ourselves always ready to protect the revolutionary gains and defend the country and the people against imperialist aggression, while stepping up economic construction vigorously. Only when our defences are built up impregnably and we keep ourselves ready to strike back, will the enemy not dare challenge us and, even if he starts a reckless adventure, can we administer a crushing blow to the aggressor and beat him in good time.

Adhering consistently to this principle, our Party has always combined economic construction properly with the upbuilding of national defence in accordance with its appraisal of the changes in the situation at each stage.

In recent years our Party has been compelled to direct special attention to further boosting our defence capabilities in the face of intensified aggressive moves of the imperialists. As you know, the U.S. imperialists provoked the Caribbean crisis against the Republic of Cuba in 1962, thereby challenging the entire socialist camp and making the international situation extremely tense. After that, they set out on aggressive manoeuvres still more openly in Asia. They provoked the Bac Bo Gulf incident against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, stepped up the war of aggression on a large scale in South Vietnam and aggravated tensions in Southeast Asia, the Far East and other parts of the world.

In view of the situation, our Party set forth the line of carrying on economic construction in parallel with defence upbuilding already at the Fifth Plenum of the Fourth Central Committee in 1962 and, while reorganizing economic construction, took a number of important measures for further increasing our defence potential. Developments in the following period have proved that the step taken by our Party was entirely correct. By greatly boosting our defence power through our endeavours to carry out the Party's decision, we are now able to defend the security of our country firmly at a time when the imperialists are running amuck.

Today the aggressive acts of the U.S. imperialists are stepped up and their plot for escalation of war is becoming more and more pronounced. The Pak Jung Hi clique in South Korea, upon U.S. instructions, is not only making active preparations for a new war, but has already joined the U.S. imperialists in the war of aggression in Vietnam. The situation has grown tenser and the danger of war is increasing in our country and all other areas of Asia.

In the prevailing situation, we must continue to build socialist economy and, along with this, carry on the building of defences more energetically. We must build up our defences impregnably and get everything ready so that we may fight back the enemy's surprise attack at any moment. True, this will require lots of manpower and materiel for national defence, and inevitably delay the economic development of our country in a certain measure. But we should direct more efforts to the strengthening of our defence power to be fully prepared for national defence, though it may call for some readjustment of the tempo of economic development. This accords with the fundamental interests of the revolution and construction in our country at the present stage. It is therefore necessary for us to push ahead undeviatingly with both economic construction and defence upbuilding along the line set forth by the Party; we must not neglect either of them.

The building of socialist economy is an important revolutionary task for us today. The Communists struggle to bring freedom and liberation to the people and provide a new happy life to them. We have already emancipated our people from exploitation and oppression and ensured political liberties and rights to them by carrying out democratic and socialist revolutions in North Korea. By establishing an advanced socialist system, we have opened up a wide avenue for the development of the productive forces and improvement of the people's livelihood. Now it is important to further enhance the people's material well-being by consolidating the triumphant socialist system and bringing its advantages into full play. This calls for a successful building of the economy. Successful economic construction is essential for attaining a high level of development of the productive forces commensurate with socialist society, for making the country mighty and prosperous and decisively raising the living standards of the people. And the strengthening of the foundations of an independent economy through vigorous promotion of economic construction is basic to the unshakable political independence and sovereignty of the country and to the augmentation of national defence potential.

Socialist economic construction in North Korea is the basic guarantee of increasing the material power of our revolutionary base. It has an enormous significance not only for the happy life of the people in North Korea but also for the unification and future prosperity of our country. By steadily increasing the economic power of North Korea, we can clearly demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system to the people in South Korea and give an ever more powerful support to their revolutionary struggle. The socialist independent economy being built in North Korea will also serve as a reliable asset for rapid rehabilitation and development of the economy in South Korea after unification.

It is our national duty and at the same time our internationalist duty that we build our economy successfully. We can fortify the eastern outpost of the socialist camp and help strengthen the might of the whole socialist camp only if we increase our own economic strength. After all, both the vitality of our socialist system and the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist lines and policies of our Party are reflected in the practical results of our socialist economic construction. Our struggle for economic construction, therefore, is a struggle to increase the might of the socialist camp and promote the development of the international revolutionary movement, a struggle to demonstrate the true advantages of the socialist system by disproving the slanders of the imperialists and reactionaries against this system, a struggle to overcome revisionism and dogmatism and safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism in the communist movement.

Ever since the days following the liberation, our Party has done everything in its power to consolidate the economic foundations of the country and improve the material and cultural standards of the people. After the war we, acting upon the principle of self-reliance, laid the firm foundations of an independent national economy and solved in the main the question of meeting the people's requirements for food, clothing and housing. Under the leadership of the Party, our working people have worked energetically for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan and achieved fresh successes in the socialist economic construction over the past five years. Our heavy industry bases have been reinforced, our light industry has developed further, and the material and technical foundations of agriculture have been strengthened substantially. Our towns and villages have been built better still and the material well-being and cultural standard of the people, too, have been improved on the whole. We must continue to vigorously push forward the economic construction in order to consolidate and carry forward our economic achievements and carry into effect the magnificent programme of socialist construction mapped out at the Fourth Congress of the Party.

What is important in our socialist economic construction today is to make an effective use of the economic foundations already created and decisively raise the quality of products and structures in all fields. Under the leadership of the Party our people have laid the powerful foundations of production in all fields of the national economy by carrying out a vast amount of construction work by their heroic endeavours and creative labour for more than ten years after the war. The bases of heavy and light industries and the socialist agriculture which we have built have immense productive potentialities. If we further readjust and reinforce those economic foundations and make an effective use of them, we will be able to produce much more than now. We are now turning out an incomparably greater amount of industrial goods and farm produce

than before, and have already attained a fairly high level in the output per head of the population. If we extend the variety of goods and radically improve their quality, we can satisfy the demands of the national economy and the population better even with the present volume of production. To make the most of the economic foundations which we have already built and to raise the quality in production and construction — this is the basic direction of economic development in our country at the present stage, and herein lie vast reserves for the growth of production and improvement of the people's livelihood. Along this basic direction, we must bend our main efforts to mobilize all and every reserve and potential latent in the national economy. In the meantime, we should carry out new capital construction to further expand our economic foundations.

The central task in industry is to give precedence to the mining and power industries before others and add flesh to the skeletons of industry, to improve technical management and make more technical innovations, thereby normalizing production and expanding productivity to the fullest possible extent. In agriculture, grain output must be increased substantially and, at the same time, all other branches such as the production of industrial crops and vegetables, livestock breeding and fruit growing must be further developed by energetically promoting the technical revolution, improving labour administration, giving continued support to the countryside, and by raising the level of management on the co-operative farms. The growing requirements of the national economy for transport must be satisfied in full by rapidly developing railways and various other transport means, and the effectiveness of investment must be raised in all fields of the national economy by carrying on capital construction intensively on a priority basis. In all fields an all-Party, nation-wide struggle must be unfolded to establish the Daean work system and manage the economic life methodically. We must, in this way, make our socialist country richer and stronger, radically improve the material and cultural standards of the people, and make preparations for still larger-scale economic construction in the future.

Another important question in the socialist economic construction is to consolidate the economic independence of the country. To build an independent national economy on the principle of self-reliance is a consistent line of our Party. We have already achieved brilliant successes in its implementation. Particularly, the present situation when the imperialist manoeuvres for aggression have become undisguised and delicate problems have arisen within the socialist camp, makes it imperative for us to further reinforce the foundations of the independent economy of the country.

Of course, we will, in the future too, strive to extend and develop economic and technical co-operation with the fraternal countries on the principles of complete equality and mutual benefit and of proletarian internationalism. We will promote economic ties and co-operation with the newly-independent countries in Asia and Africa, and with all countries which respect our sovereignty and are desirous of dealing with us to fill each other's economic needs. This co-operation must, however, be effected at all times on the basis of building our independent national economy. Only then can our own economic power be further increased and our co-operation with other countries be conducted effectively.

We must thoroughly carry out the Party's policy for further strengthening the foundations of an independent national economy. We must reinforce and equip perfectly all branches of production and enterprises, further improve the structure of the national economy, continue to develop medium and small enterprises along with large ones, distribute the country's productive forces rationally and, especially, promote the development of local economy. It is necessary to fearlessly surmount difficulties cropping up in the way of our forward march and successfully solve economic and technical problems by raising the technical level and stepping up the struggle for economization in all fields and by further displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. We should thus turn our national economy into a more solid and virile independent economy so that we may fully meet the material requirements of the state and the people under whatever circumstances.

While accelerating the economic construction as best we can, we must do all we can to increase the country's defence power.

For this purpose, it is necessary first of all to equip the People's Army and the entire people with firm political and ideological standpoint.

Our People's Army is a revolutionary army, so the basic condition for increasing its might lies in arming the soldiers politically and ideologically. Its lofty mission and revolutionary spirit of fighting for the freedom and liberation of the people, the comradeship between men and officers, voluntary military discipline and close ties with the people are the characteristic features and merits of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary army, alien to any imperialist army of aggression. It is thanks to these political and ideological merits that a revolutionary army can defeat an aggressive army far more superior in technical equipment and numerical strength. This has been proved by the experience of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and the Patriotic War of Liberation in our country, by the experience of many revolutionary wars in the world.

The basic mission of our People's Army — the direct continuer of the anti-Japanese armed struggle and a revolutionary armed force led by the Workers' Party — is to serve the Party and the revolution and defend their socialist motherland and people. Our People's Army is an army organized with best sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people; there is a perfect unity between its men and officers; and it maintains close bonds of kinship with the people.

The Party organizations and the League of Socialist Working Youth organizations in the army should regularly and energetically conduct political and ideological work among the armymen, thus bringing home to them the lofty mission of the People's Army and arming them firmly with Marxist-Leninist ideas and the purports of the policies of our Party, with socialist patriotism and an indomitable revolutionary spirit. It is necessary to further display the traditional trait of unity between men and officers and between the people and the armymen and establish steel-like military discipline in the army. Our armymen should be educated to have a boundless love for their people, bear a burning hatred against the enemy and display mass heroism and valour in battle. The entire soldiers must, in this way, be reared into revolutionary fighters loyal to the Party, the revolution and the people, and our People's Army should be turned into an invincible army.

At the same time, the Party organizations at all levels should pay deep concern to the work of assisting the People's Army. The People's Army is the armed force of our Party and the reliable defender of our motherland and people. The Party organizations should energetically conduct propaganda and education on the People's Army among the Party members and the working people and actively support the People's Army in all aspects. They should see to it that all our cadres, Party members and people love the soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers of the People's Army like their real brothers and sisters and aid them with all sincerity. They should thus enable the officers and men of the People's Army to devote themselves entirely to discharging their military duties without any worries, receiving the profound affection, support and assistance of the whole Party and the entire people. We should see that in the event of war the armymen and the people, united firmly as one, fight solely for the defence of the motherland, sharing life and death, sweets and bitters, as true revolutionary comrades.

We should also see to it that the armymen and the people are not immersed in a peaceful mood but sharpen vigilance and maintain a strained posture at all times against aggressive manoeuvres and possible war provocation of the enemy. The Communists do not want war, but never fear it. To be afraid of war is a manifestation of bourgeois pacifism and a revisionist ideological trend. We must strictly prevent this ideological virus from appearing within our ranks or infiltrating from without. We must prepare the entire armymen and people to counter bravely any surprise attack of the enemy without the slightest confusion.

To increase our defence power it is essential to carry through the military line of our Party on the basis of arming the army and the people politically and ideologically. Having defined it as the basic contents of its military line to train our army into an army of cadres, modernize it, place the entire people under arms and turn the whole land into a fortress, our Party has exerted tireless efforts to put them into practice and already attained great successes in this respect. We should continue to abide by the Party's military line and carry it through to the end.

The training of the People's Army into a cadre army and its modernization constitute an important guarantee for reinforcing our army into invincible armed forces. We should steel the People's Army ranks politically and ideologically, militarily and technically so that in case of emergency everyone, from the rank and file up to the generals, can undertake and perform the duty of one rank higher. This makes it possible not only to greatly enhance the combat capabilities of the People's Army itself but bring up numerous military cadres and thus rapidly expand our armed forces if need be.

When the political and ideological superiority of a revolutionary army is combined with modern military techniques, it can display a really great force. At present military science and techniques are making a leaping development in the world, and up-to-date arms and military equipment are mobilized in the modern warfare. Our enemies are equipping themselves with more and more weapons of new types. We must firmly arm our People's Army with modern weapons and combat material to counter the aggression of the enemies armed to the teeth, to meet the requirements of modern warfare. We must modernize arms by all possible means and make them still more powerful on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology. The servicemen should be made to undergo energetic military training so as to handle most up-to-date weapons skillfully and possess an adequate knowledge of modern military science and techniques.

In modernizing the People's Army and developing military science and techniques it is required to take into full account the actual conditions of our country which abounds with mountains and long coast-lines. The experience of the past Patriotic War of Liberation shows clearly that if dogmatist errors are committed in the military sphere, it may cause a serious loss to national defence. While actively endeavouring to modernize the People's Army, therefore, we must always develop and apply military science and techniques which are suited to the specific conditions of our country, properly using modern weapons along with conventional ones.

The arming of the entire people and the fortification of the whole country are the most powerful defence system from the military strategic point of view, which is capable of thwarting any attack of the enemy. This is designed to carry out the mass line of our Party and effect the principle of self-defence in national defence to the fullest extent. By arming the entire people and fortifying the whole land we can smash the uninterrupted subversive activities of the enemy at every step and crush all forms of armed attack with our own efforts. This defence system can be established only on the basis of the political and ideological unity of the people and the solid economic foundations of the country under our socialist system.

We must arm, along with the People's Army, the entire people including the workers and peasants and build indestructible defence installations in all parts of

the country, both on the front and in the rear. We should solidly build up the ranks of the Worker-Peasant Militia, intensify their military and political training and see that all cadres and Party members acquire military knowledge, receive military training and study the experience of war. The militia men and workers in factories should guard their work places and the militia men and peasants in the countryside their villages, and thus the entire people, holding arms in one hand and hammer or sickle in the other, should reliably safeguard our socialist motherland and continue to build socialism sucessfully. We should, in this way, convert our whole territory into an impregnable fortress so that we can wipe out the enemies wherever they may invade into our country.

Victory in the modern warfare depends largely on whether or not the manpower and material resources needed to carry out the war are fully supplied for a long period. Hence we should direct deep attention to consolidating the rear. In particular, we should build up well zones of military strategic importance, develop the munitions industry and create the reserves of necessary materials. We should also be prepared from peacetime to place the whole economy on a war footing promptly in the event of emergency and to carry on production in wartime, too.

Our Party and people will thus promote economic construction in parallel with national defence build-up in conformity with the current situation, and thereby translate into reality the magnificent programme of socialist construction, while discharging efficiently the duty of defending the nation at the same time.

Comrades, revolution and construction are the work of the masses themselves and they can be fulfilled successfully only when the broad masses are mobilized under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore, the most important of all in accelerating our socialist construction and fortifying our revolutionary base is to strengthen the Party, the general staff of revolution, educate and remould the entire people and rally them around the Party, namely, to firmly build up the ranks of revolution politically and ideologically.

Our Party has constantly striven to consolidate itself organizationally and ideologically through practical struggle for the revolution and construction, awaken the masses and win them over to the side of the revolution, bring up the entire Party members into revolutionaries through the nuclear role of the Communists steeled in the long revolutionary struggle, and educate all the people in the revolutionary spirit through the nuclear role of the Party members.

As a result, our Party has grown into a seasoned Marxist-Leninist party whose ranks are firmly united with one mind and will and which has accumulated a wealth of experience, the Party ranks have gained in scope and strength and a large number of new revolutionaries capable of creditably carrying forward our revolutionary cause have grown up. Our people have been steeled in the thick of struggle and have come to place an infinite trust in the Party through their actual experience of struggle and are united around it firmly.

In the northern part of our country, the exploiting class and all manner of exploitation systems were liquidated and a new socialist system established and, on this basis, the worker-peasant alliance has been further consolidated and the political and ideological unity of the whole people attained. In the exploiter society, the class antagonism and struggle between the exploiting and exploited classes, between the ruling and the ruled classes constitute the basis of social relationship, but in our society where the socialist system has triumphed, unity and co-operation among the working class, co-operative farmers and working intellectuals constitute the basis of social relationship. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals, because of their common socio-economic positions and their common goal and interests, are united in a comradely way, closely co-operate with each other and work together for the victory of the cause of communism under the leadership of our Party.

The political and ideological unity of the masses of the people based on the worker-peasant alliance and their common aspiration and enthusiasm to build socialism and communism under the leadership of the Party are the basic motive powers propelling the progress of our society and decisive factors in speeding up the building of socialism. The source of our invincible might, the foundation of the firmness of our society, too, lie precisely in this unity.

This, of course, does not mean that there are neither hostile elements nor class struggle within our ranks. Class struggle goes on under socialism, too.

Class struggle under socialism finds expression, above all, in the struggle against the subversive activities of the hostile elements worming from without and of the remnants of the overthrown exploiting class and the struggle against bourgeois and feudal reactionary ideas and their penetration. The enemies make all and every attempt to destroy our socialist system and restore their old positions. Though the hostile elements lurking within our ranks are very few, we must heighten alertness against the enemy's subversive schemes and smash them thoroughly. Especially in our situation where the country remains divided and we stand directly opposed to the U.S. imperialists, the chieftain of world reaction, it stands out as a more important problem to struggle against the subversive activities, sabotage and ideological infiltration by the enemy, to which we should always pay deep attention.

Under socialism the survivals of the outdated ideas also remain in the minds of the working people and the struggle against them is also a manifestation of class struggle in the sense that it is a struggle between the working-class ideology and the bourgeois ideology. If we weaken the struggle against the outmoded ideological survivals, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas may be encouraged among the working people and it would not only throw big obstacles in the way of our socialist construction but would easily play into the hands of the enemy in its subversive activities. We must not slacken even the least the struggle against the outworn ideas among the toiling masses but must carry it on vigorously.

The struggle against the remnants of outdated ideas, however, is an internal affair of the working people who are advancing hand in hand to realize the common ideal and it is a task raised for educating and remoulding all the working people and leading them to communist society. This problem, therefore, unlike that of suppressing the hostile elements, should be solved at all times by means of persuasion and education and should be one for remoulding the ideas of the people to further strengthen their unity.

We should not underestimate the danger of survivals of the outdated ideas, and yet, it should not be exaggerated too much.

In our society today there exist no socio-economic and material sources for the emergence of the outdated ideas, and the predominant ideology of our working people is the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the communist ideology. Accordingly, the outmoded ideological survivals can be overcome by persistent ideological education among the working people.

In closely knitting our revolutionary ranks together it is very important to combine properly the work of cementing the unity and cohesion of the masses of the people with the class struggle against the machinations of the hostile elements. One may commit a "Leftist" error if one emphasizes class struggle only and overstates it, forgetting that the alliance of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia constitutes the basis of social relations under socialism. In that case, one may tend to suspect people, may treat innocent persons like hostile elements, divorce the Party from the masses and cause unrest in society. On the contrary one may commit a Rightist error if he sees only the political and ideological unity of the masses of the people and makes it absolute, oblivious of the fact that under socialism also there exist hostile elements, the outmoded ideological survivals remain and class struggle continues. In that case, vigilance may be benumbed against hostile elements, the struggle against the outdated ideas be weakened, the leading role of the Party and the working class be paralysed and bourgeois influence spread far and wide in the social life. After all, both the Right and "Left" deviations will render it impossible to clearly tell friend from foe and to correctly implement the class and mass lines and will bring heavy losses to the upbuilding of socialism and communism. We should oppose both the Right and "Left" deviations and steadily strengthen the unity and solidarity of the masses of the people, while skillfully waging class struggle.

From the viewpoint of class relationship, the course of building socialism and communism is a process in which the working class, having seized power, transforms society on its own pattern in all spheres of economy and culture, ideology and morality, that is, a process of transforming it into the society of the working class. The historical mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat not only lies in liquidating the exploiting class and putting down its resistance but in remoulding all the working people to equip them with the working-class ideas and thus gradually eliminating all class distinctions. In our society where the exploiting class has been wiped out and the socialist system triumphed, an important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the work of educating and remoulding the working people and turning the whole society to be of the working class.

By correctly combining the class line and the mass line, we must isolate and suppress the handful of hostile elements, educate and remodel the broad masses and rally them closely around the Party. We must constantly enhance the leading role of the working class, revolutionize the peasants and intellectuals and equip them with the working-class ideas and thus further cement the political and ideological unity of our society.

With the progress of socialist construction in our country the ranks of the working class have grown speedily and the standards of their ideology and consciousness and of their culture and technique have risen markedly. Our working class has been successfully carrying out the historic mission of transforming the society and is displaying a high degree of revolutionary zeal and creative initiative in socialist construction.

The working class does not allow itself to obliterate the class distinctions by weakening its class leadership or by dissolving itself in other sections of working people. On the contrary, the working class holds fast to its class stand, constantly enhances the leading role and equips the other toiling masses with the ideas of its own and thereby strengthens solidarity with them and gradually eliminates all manifestations of class distinctions. We should, therefore, elevate the leading role of the working class in all spheres of social life and increase its revolutionary influence. We should further refine the ideology, organization and culture of the working class and reinforce its ranks. In this way we should make our working class a truly revolutionary and militant class and enable it to perform its role better as the leading class.

The peasantry is a most reliable ally of the working class and one of the main detachments of our revolution. Always directing deep concern to the peasant question and pursuing a correct agrarian policy, our Party has successfully tackled this problem. We abolished the feudal relationship by carrying out the land reform in the countryside shortly after the liberation and, in the postwar period, reorganized the private peasant economy into the socialist collective economy, thereby emancipating the peasants from all manner of exploitation and oppression and remoulding them into the socialist working people. Through the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and through socialist construction, the socio-economic position of our peasants has not only changed fundamentally but a great change has taken place in their ideology and consciousness, and their technical and

cultural standards have also been raised speedily. The worker-peasant alliance led by the working class has been firmly established on the foundation of socialism and the political and labour enthusiasm of the peasants continues to increase.

Our task ahead is to consolidate and develop the successes already attained in the solution of the agrarian question and, furthermore, to overcome all backwardness left behind in the countryside by the exploiter society and obliterate step by step the distinctions between town and country, the class distinctions between the working class and the peasantry. This means to strive for the final solution of the peasant question. Our Party summed up our achievements and experience in the agrarian work and expounded the basic principles and specific ways and means for the solution of the agrarian question under socialism. In accordance with the correct line advanced by the Party, we should powerfully carry on the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside, continuously strengthen the leadership over and assistance to the countryside by the Party and state of the working class and steadily bring co-operative ownership closer to ownership by the whole people, while developing the two forms of ownership in organic combination.

Thus, by equipping agriculture with modern technique like industry and by consolidating and developing the socialist system established in the countryside, we should elevate the material and cultural living standards of the peasantry up to the level of the working class, further remould the ideas of the peasants and revolutionize them and equip them with the working-class ideas.

Intellectuals play an important role in the building of a new society. The working class which has seized power can speedily develop science and technology, literature and arts and build socialism and communism successfully when it closely rallies the ranks of its intellectuals.

From the first days of its founding, our Party, taking into consideration the important role the intellectuals perform in revolution and construction, has made persistent efforts to educate and remould the old-line intellectuals, while rearing a large number of new intellectuals from among the working people. It is true that the old-line intellectuals are mostly from rich families and had served Japanese imperialism and the exploiting class in the past. But they, as intellectuals of a colony, had been subjected to national oppression and discrimination by foreign imperialism and, therefore, had a national and democratic revolutionary spirit. Our Party took into account their revolutionary spirit and adopted the line of actively drawing them in the building of a new society and thus remoulding them into the intellectuals serving the working people. Our old-line intellectuals have traversed the path as indicated by the Party over the past 20 years, devoting themselves to the country and the people in good faith and performing great feats in revolution and construction. They have grown into fine socialist intellectuals thanks to the tireless education of the Party and through the trials of arduous revolutionary struggle. Meanwhile, thanks to the correct policy of our Party on education and training of cadres, hundreds of thousands of new intellectuals of the working people's origin have been brought up, who serve the revolutionary cause in all spheres of government, economy, culture and the military affairs. Thus our Party has remoulded the old-line intellectuals while fostering new intellectuals and thereby built up its reliable contingent of intellectuals. All our intellectuals place boundless faith in the Party and are united firmly around the Party and are displaying a high degree of zeal and creativeness in socialist construction. This testifies to the correctness of our Party's policy on intelligentsia and its brilliant victory.

Today we are confronted with an important task of continually revolutionizing the intellectuals. To revolutionize and transform them to be the intellectuals of the working class means to completely eradicate the residues of outworn ideas still remaining in their minds, equip them with the revolutionary spirit of the working class, with the communist ideas and bring them up into the true intellectuals of the working class, into active Communists.

The intellectuals are still considerably influenced by the remnants of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas in their minds. That is true. But it is fundamentally wrong to distrust, for this reason, the revolutionary spirit of the intellectuals and, moreover, to disbelieve our intellectuals remoulded and tested in the flames of struggle. To suspect and reject the intellectuals is a factionalist tendency. To underestimate their role is a tendency of ignoring science and technology. These tendencies have nothing to do with our Party policy towards intelligentsia.

Our Party trusts its intellectuals, spares and loves them and highly appreciates their merits. The Party will continue to guide and assist intellectuals patiently in their ideological transformation and provide them with all conditions so that they can render more distinguished services to socialist construction, giving full play to their wisdom and talents. Our intellectuals should have a pride in the fact that they are full-fledged soldiers of the Party, fighters of the working class, and actively endeavour to surmount the survivals of outdated ideas and learn the revolutionary spirit, organization and militancy of the working class. At the same time, the intellectuals, bearing in mind that they serve the society chiefly with technique and knowledge, should do everything in their power to master their specialities and raise their scientific and technical qualifications. Our workers and peasants, on their part, should love intellectuals and be open-hearted to learn scientific knowledge and technique from them. Then, we can settle successfully both the work of transforming intellectuals to have them equipped with the working-class ideas and the work of elevating the technical and cultural standards of the workers and peasants up to the level of engineers and technicians. Only by so doing will it be possible to strengthen the unity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, develop creative co-operation among them and thereby facilitate the economic and cultural construction of the country. We will fully revolutionize and remould the entire intellectuals, both old and new, to arm them with the working-class ideas and will always join them to fight for the victory of the cause of communism.

In promoting the political and ideological unity of our society, the work with the people whose social and political backgrounds are complicated holds an important place. The social and political composition of our population has become very complex owing to the long Japanese colonial rule, the partition of the country by U.S. imperialism and to the enemy's estrangement schemes during the Patriotic War of Liberation. Such being the situation, we have to be particularly prudent in the work with various strata of the people.

The consistent principle our Party adheres to in the work with the people with complicated social and political backgrounds is that we should appraise them case by case always attaching utmost importance to their tendency at present, isolate hostile elements to the maximum and win even a single more man over to the side of the revolution. The social origin and ideology of the people are not unchangeable. Even those who committed crimes against the people in the past may repent them and reform themselves into good people today and even those whose social origin is complex may possess progressive ideas as society advances and their environments change. As a matter of course, we must firmly maintain the class stand in the work with people and must remember that the confirmed reactionary elements from the hostile class never desist from their subversive activities and hostile elements are very few. As we trust the masses of the people and are convinced of the superiority of the socialist system, the justness of our cause and the invincible might and authority of our Party, we do not suspect people imprudently but believe that all people can be educated and remoulded unless they are confirmed reactionaries. So, we boldly trust and accept even those whose social origin, environments and past careers are complicated and provide them with conditions to work without any worries if they support our Party and work hard at present. This line of our Party can shatter all the estrangement manoeuvres of the enemy, win over the masses of the people of all circles and strata to the side of the Party and the revolution, isolate hostile elements further still and give them no room to set foot. We should, in the future, too, hold fast to this line and execute it accurately in practice.

The policy of our Party with regard to the various classes and strata of society is a correct Marxist-Leninist policy based on the class and mass lines and it is in full accord with the realities of our country. This has been clearly borne out by the fact that though the social composition of our population is complex and we stand directly confronted with the enemy, broad segments of the people are rallied around our Party with their revolutionary zeal and creative activity surging higher. We have to carry on the Party's class and mass lines fully, so that we may further expand and reinforce our revolutionary ranks and turn the whole society into a great family, closely united and harmonious, cheerful and vivacious.

To accelerate the process of transformation of society into one of the working class and solidly build up the revolutionary ranks it is necessary to conduct political and ideological work energetically among the Party members and the working people. Socialism creates the socio-economic and material conditions for remoulding the ideas of the working people and uniting them. However, the ideological remoulding and unity of the people does not come of themselves, simply because the socialist system triumphs and the livelihood improves. Only by carrying on ideological work more energetically and patiently in conformity with the progress of socialist construction, can we educate and remould the working people actually and rally them closely. The complicated international and internal situations we face today as well as the vast and arduous revolutionary tasks ahead before us demand a further intensification of political and ideological work among the masses.

We must continue to vigorously conduct among the Party members and the working people communist education with class education as the main content in combination with the education in the revolutionary traditions and decisively deepen the education in Marxism-Leninism and in the Party's policies.

The most important thing here is to heighten the class consciousness of the working people and imbue them with the hatred for imperialism, landlords and capitalists. Such class education should be conducted especially well for the new generation who has never experienced exploitation and oppression or undergone the ordeals of tortuous revolutionary struggle. We should bring home to the working people the aggressive nature of imperialism and the essence of the exploiting class and the exploitation system so as to induce them to hate imperialism, hate the exploiting class and the exploitation system and wage an uncompromising fight against them. We should educate the Party members and the working people to possess the class principle so that they may harbour no illusions about the imperialists and hostile classes, keep high revolutionary vigilance against their aggressive machinations and subversive and wrecking activities and smash them at every step.

In particular, U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism are the most dangerous forces of aggression standing directly opposed to us and the main enemy in our struggle. We should further inflame hatred for American imperialism and Japanese militarism in the minds of our working people and prepare them ideologically so that they fight resolutely against U.S. and Japanese imperialism at any time.

We have not yet accomplished the national-liberation revolution throughout the country and the

people in South Korea are still groaning under the oppression of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges To liberate South Korea and unify the country is the national duty of the entire Korean people. We must educate the working people of the North in a revolutionary manner to oppose U.S. imperialist colonial rule in South Korea, oppose the reaggression of Japanese militarism and fight to carry forward the Korean revolution to the end. We should see that all our working people always remember the plight of the South Korean people and the task of national unification and devote themselves to all revolutionary struggle and construction work in the lofty spirit of assisting the people in South Korea more actively.

Class education for the working people is a class struggle in the field of ideology. The struggle against imperialism and the exploiting class is inseparable from the struggle against their reactionary ideas. Without combating the survivals of the outmoded ideas remaining in the minds of the working people, it is impossible to equip them with the ideas of the working class, i.e., the communist ideas. Moreover, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys employ every conceivable means and methods to spread bourgeois reactionary ideas within our ranks and resort to cunning tricks to utilize the backward ideological elements in the minds of our working people in their subversive activities.

That is why we should continue to wage powerfully the struggle to prevent the infiltration of bourgeois reactionary ideology and wipe off the outdated ideological survivals in the minds of the working people. We must categorically reject the reactionary bourgeois ideology and the corrupt bourgeois morality and way of life, oppose egoism, liberalism and other remnants of outworn ideas and backward conventions and tirelessly strive for the triumph of the communist ideas and morality, for the establishment of the communist atmosphere of life. We should see that all our working people oppose degradation and indolence, lead a frugal life, display voluntary zeal in labour, love the collective and the organization and endeavour to bring prosperity to all, helping and leading each other forward.

Whether the Communists can lead the revolutionary cause of the working class to victory or not depends on whether or not they hold fast to the Marxist-Leninist principles in their activities and apply them properly. For the Korean Communists and people to carry out the Korean revolution successfully it is essential to defend and implement thoroughly the lines and policies of our Party which are the creative applications of the Marxist-Leninist principles to the actual conditions of Korea. That is why the arming of the Party members and the working people with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of our Party is always a central problem in our ideological work. At a time when the slanders and abuses of the imperialists and the world reaction against the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become intensified as never before and opportunist ideological trends of all descriptions are appearing within the international communist movement, it stands out as a still more important problem before us to educate the Party members and the working people in Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policies.

We must deepen our study of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's policies throughout the Party, and must repeatedly explain and propagate the principles of Marxism-Leninism among the masses and bring the lines and policies of the Party home to them. Everyone should regard his study and ideological education as the first and foremost revolutionary task and tirelessly strive to acquire the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, to arm himself firmly with the ideas of our Party, and to make the Party's lines and policies an unshakable faith of his own. We should, at the same time, make the Party members and the working people fully aware of the essence and harmfulness of Right and "Left" opportunism such as modern revisionism, dogmatism and factionalism and acquaint them with all their manifestations. In this way, we should see to it that all our Party members and working people, deeply convinced of the correctness of our Party's Marxist-Leninist lines and policies, determinedly support and defend them and fight to carry them through to the end. We should enable the Party members and working people to clearly discern Marxism-Leninism from Right and "Left" opportunism, resolutely oppose opportunism and always stick to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

We must, in particular, oppose factionalism and defend the unity and solidarity of the Party. Through an arduous struggle, our Party overcame factionalism which had persisted through its history, achieved the unity of the communist movement in Korea and firmly armed the entire Party membership with the Party ideas. Today our Party is closely united organizationally and ideologically and all the Party organizations and Party members act with one mind and will. But we must never be self-complacent. Our Party members must always remember that at one time in the past when the external and internal situations were complex and our revolution was undergoing trials, the anti-Party factionalists who had lurked within the Party came out to attack the Party in league with foreign sectarians." As long as there exist opportunist trends and great-nation chauvinist tendencies within the world communist movement, we cannot say that such an attempt will not be made again.

And under the present complicated situation, waverers may appear within our ranks, too, particularly under sectarian and other opportunist influence from without. We must, therefore, always sharpen vigilance against factionalism. We must oppose any estrangement manoeuvres and factional activities from within and without to vacillate our Party members and split our ranks and must staunchly defend the Marxist-Leninist unity of our Party and strengthen it all the more firmly.

Only by firmly preparing the whole Party and the entire people ideologically and theoretically and rallying them closely, can we prevent opportunist ideological trends of all hues from infiltrating from outside or from appearing inside and, whatever wind may blow, continue to advance victoriously, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism under the seasoned leadership of the Party Central Committee.

The struggle to defend and implement the Marxist-Leninist lines and policies of our Party is closely related to the struggle to oppose flunkeyism towards the great powers and establish *Juche* (self-identity). If one loses *Juche* and takes to flunkeyism, his faculty of independent thinking is paralysed, with the result that he will not only be unable to display any initiative but, in the end, will even become unable to distinguish right from wrong and follow others blindly and will be inclined to depend only on others for everything, losing his faith in his own strength. Then he may lapse into both Right and "Left" opportunism such as revisionism, dogmatism and factionalism and may eventually do great harm to the revolution and construction.

We must reject all manifestations of flunkeyism towards the great powers and root it out, establish *Juche* more firmly in all spheres and give a fuller rein to the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. We should continue to strictly abide by the principle of establishing *Juche* in ideology, independence in politics, self-reliance in the economy and self-defence in national defence.

It is the education in socialist patriotism that occupies a very important place in the ideological education of the working people.

Socialist patriotism is the patriotism of the working class and the working people aspiring to socialism and communism; it combines class consciousness with the spirit of national independence, the love for their class and system with that for their nation and country. The working people including the working class make up the overwhelming majority of the nation, and the interests of the nation are unthinkable apart from the interests of the working people. The road to capitalism is a road to exploitation and oppression, a road to dependence and ruin, and only socialism eradicates class exploitation and national oppression and ensures complete independence and prosperity to the nation. That is why the Communists fighting for the interests of the working people, for the sake of socialism, are the most steadfast patriots and only the working class and the other working people aspiring to their class emancipation and socialism can possess the true patriotic feelings.

Our socialist patriotism is based on the socialist system which is free from exploitation and oppression and brings freedom and happiness to the working people and, accordingly, it should be manifested, above all, in the love for the socialist system and the toiling masses. We should bring home to the working people the superiority of the socialist system established in North Korea so that they can resolutely fight to defend this system and actively endeavour to consolidate and develop it. Each of the working people should be made display a high degree of enthusiasm and creative initiative in socialist construction, deeply conscious of the fact that his labour is a honourable thing for the consolidation of the socialist system and for the happiness of the working people. All the working people should be educated to use sparingly and show loving care for the state and public property as the common assets of the people, manage efficiently the collective economy and strive hard to manage the economic life of the country methodically.

Socialist patriotism finds expression in the love for the socialist system and the working people, and in the love for their own country and nation. Those who were born in Korea make the revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Korean revolution is the basic duty assigned to the Communists and people of Korea. Apart from the Korean nation and Korean soil we can never talk about the Korean revolution and, without taking into account the history and traditions of Korea, the mood and manners and customs of Koreans, it is impossible to carry out the Korean revolution successfully. One who does not love one's own country and nation cannot cherish a warm passion for the revolution of one's country and cannot devote oneself to its victory. This is why we Communists love their motherland and nation more ardently than anyone else, determinedly fight for national independence and prosperity, treasure national culture and all the fine heritages and traditions of the nation and endeavour to carry forward and develop them. The Communists oppose all forms of national oppression and inequality and reject national nihilism.

We should further heighten the national pride and the spirit of independence in the minds of the working people and make them fight more stubbornly for the complete unification and independence of the country and for the future prosperity of our nation. The working people should be educated to love the mountains and rivers of their motherland and their native places and make them more beautiful, to hold dear their mother tongue and national culture and endeavour to develop them further still.

What is of great importance here is to educate the working people to take a correct attitude towards the legacies of national culture and national traditions which have been formed historically. We must neither get into a nihilist deviation of negating and obliterating all the past things, nor into a deviation of restoring the past things without criticism. These deviations lay big obstacles both to creating new socialist culture and atmosphere of life and to imbuing the working people with the ideas of socialist patriotism. Only if backward and reactionary ones are sifted out from among the national legacies and all the progressive and popular ones among them are taken over and developed critically, is it possible to create new socialist culture and atmosphere of life and develop them further. And only when the working people are well acquainted with the present and past of their nation

and love the fine traditions and legacies of their nation, will their patriotic feelings be more deepened. We should give the working people a correct and sufficient education of our long history and culture so that they may value all the splendid traditions and legacies of our nation, cherish its fine manners and customs and carry forward and develop them to suit the new life of socialism of today.

The class interest of the working class is, in itself, internationalist, and the internationalist solidarity of the working class constitutes a guarantee for the triumph of the cause of communism. Hence, socialist patriotism rejects all shades of chauvinism including bourgeois nationalism and is closely interlinked with proletarian internationalism. Only one who is boundlessly faithful to the revolution of one's own country can remain loyal to the revolutionary cause of the international working class, and only a true internationalist can become a true patriot. The national and international duties of the working class are united with each other.

We must arm the entire working people more firmly with the ideas of proletarian internationalism, with the spirit of internationalist solidarity among the revolutionary peoples. We should see that our Party members and our working people persist in their efforts to defend the unity of the socialist camp and the solidarity of the international communist movement, develop the relations of friendship and co-operation with the fraternal parties and countries and strengthen solidarity with the international working class and the progressive people of the whole world. We should educate the working people to fight for the victory of the revolution of their own country and, at the same time, fight for the advancement of the world revolutionary movement and always resolutely support and encourage the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and the exploited people. And our Party members and our working people should be educated not only to prize the successes and experience gained in the revolutionary struggle of their country but respect the achievements made by the peoples of other countries in their struggle and modestly learn from their fine experience. Thus we should see that our entire people, raising high the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the leadership of our Party, unite with the peoples of the fraternal countries, unite with the progressive peoples of all countries and join them in the struggle for the victory of the common cause of peace and democracy, national independence and socialism, supporting and encouraging each other and learing from each other.

We should also educate the working people in the spirit of loving the future and in revolutionary optimism.

Ours is a lofty cause of bringing happiness and prosperity not only to our generation but to the generations to come; it is a great cause of communism, the ideal of mankind. We should deeply convince the entire working people of the justness of their great cause and the weighty mission devolved on their generation so that they may do all they can to hand down a better life to the posterity, to hasten the arrival of the radiant future of communism.

It is particularly important to make the working people have faith in the victory of communism. Imperialism is an old force which has lived out its days and communism is a new force that represents the future of mankind. There may be immeasurable difficulties and obstacles as well as many vicissitudes ahead on the road to communism, but no force can ever check the law-governed process of the development of history in which imperialism falls and communism triumphs. Though the imperialists are now stepping up aggressive moves and raising anti-Communist clamours, it is nothing but a desperate tremor of the doomed, and though the international communist movement is now undergoing serious trials, it is only temporary twists and turns on the way of its onward march. This cannot change the law of the development of history nor becloud the great idea of communism. On the basis of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and historical facts, we must bring home to the working people the inevitability of the downfall of imperialism and the triumph of communism as well as the full truth of communism. We should thereby see to it that all our working people march forward vigorously in the teeth of all difficulties and obstacles with a burning aspiration for the future of communism and with a firm conviction under any circumstances.

We will energetically conduct political and ideological work among the Party members and the working people and thereby arm them firmly with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the communist ideology, and rally them still more closely around the Central Committee of the Party. When we train the Party members into ardent communist revolutionaries, educate and remould the broad sections of working people in the revolutionary communist spirit and further cement the unity of the Party and the people, our revolutionary ranks will be invincible.

We will steadily expand and reinforce the revolutionary ranks in this way, and will thereby accelerate socialist construction in the northern part of the country and fortify our revolutionary base as firm as a rock politically, economically and militarily.

3. On the Situation in South Korea and the Struggle of the South Korean People

Comrades,

For the unification of our country and victory of the Korean revolution, it is necessary to strengthen the revolutionary forces and develop the revolutionary struggle in South Korea while actively promoting the revolution and construction in North Korea. Particularly, today when our revolutionary base has grown into invincible force, victory of the Korean revolution in the whole country depends largely on the strengthening of the revolutionary forces in South Korea.

The revolution in South Korea is going through trying ordeals in face of the enemy's counter-revolutionary offensive. But the revolutionary forces in South Korea are growing and the general situation is developing to the disadvantage of counter-revolution and in favour of revolution. The main characteristic feature of the current situation in South Korea is that the U.S. imperialists and their minions are further stepping up the policies of aggression and war by dint of the vicious military fascist dictatorship and, owing to this, a new serious crisis is being created for the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism.

The basic object of the U.S. imperialist policy of colonial enslavement in South Korea is to reduce it to a military base for aggression, to a military appendage of the United States. Since the first days of their landing in South Korea, the American imperialists have all along pursued the insidious aim of turning South Korea into their colony and using it as a stepping-stone to carry aggression against the whole Korea and Asia. To this very end, they are trying to maintain their colonial domination over South Korea by every possible means.

The U.S. imperialists have deployed tens of thousands of U.S. troops and forces of their satellites in South Korea and keep a huge puppet army more than 600,000 strong. They allocate for South Korea 40 per cent of the total amount of their "aid" to Asia, more than 80 per cent of which is set apart to cover the supply of military equipment and the upkeep of the puppet army. And they have held the real power in South Korea by means of their military occupation and "aid" and placed all manpower and material resources under their control to use them for their military purposes. These facts show clearly that the U.S. imperialists attach a weighty military strategic importance to South Korea and that their policy of colonial enslavement towards South Korea entirely serves the U.S. policy of war.

In recent years the American imperialists, while stepping up war preparations in South Korea, have more actively utilized South Korea, as a military base for aggression, and its military potential in the execution of their war policy. This is related to the fact that U.S. imperialism has directed the spearhead of its aggression against Asia and is intensifying its manoeuvres to stamp out the revolutionary movement of the peoples growing rapidly in this part of the world and to attack the socialist countries.

Now, the numerial strength of South Korea's puppet army is being augmented and its military equipment further modernized according to the needs of the U.S. imperialist policies of aggression and war. Weapons of mass destruction such as tactical nuclear weapons and guided missiles are being shipped into South Korea continually, military installations expanded everywhere and the "war preparedness" intensified throughout the whole of South Korea.

The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen are accelerating militarization of South Korea's economy to meet the growing military requirements. Since the "military coup," the military expenditure in the budget of the puppet government in South Korea has more than doubled and the investments in a number of industrial domains of military significance are increasing. The militarization of the economy being stepped up in the name of "modernization," some industrial domains have come into being in South Korea today to satisfy the military needs, communications, roads, railways and harbour facilities are being expanded and the military and economic potentialities further increased.

Consequently, South Korea has become a huge army camp where large military forces are concentrated and everything is geared to serve the U.S. imperialists' war policy.

In order to make a more effective use of South Korea for Asian aggression, the U.S. imperialists are scheming to align their puppets in South Korea militarily with Japanese and other reactionaries in Asia. It is for this purpose that the long-drawn "South Korea-Japan talks" was brought to conclusion in a hurry and the criminal "South Korea-Japan Treaty" cooked up under U.S. manipulation. After the conclusion of the "South Korea-Japan Treaty," the Japanese militarist forces infiltrate into South Korea more actively and the intrigue of U.S. imperialism is becoming more and more conspicuous to rig up a new military alliance in Asia on the basis of the "South Korea-Japan Treaty."

These moves of the U.S. imperialists are intended to unleash another war in Korea with South Korea as an advanced base and with the Japanese militarist forces as a shock-brigade and to easily mobilize South Korea's military potential for their aggressive war in Asia.

The U.S. imperialists have directly involved South Korea in their war of aggression in Vietnam and are using it as the most important supplier of cannon fodder. On U.S. orders, the puppets in South Korea have thrown their armed forces, more than any other vassal states have done, into the battlefield of South Vietnam earlier than any other puppets, thus faithfully serving U.S. imperialism in carrying out its aggressive war. Already tens of thousands of South Korea's puppet troops have been pushed into the battlesites of South Vietnam only to become bullet-shields for U.S. imperialism and instruments of imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people.

The U.S. imperialists are clinging to a blatant military fascist dictatorship to subject the South Korean people to their colonial domination and war policy. The military fascist dictatorship established in South Korea, as a pro-

duct of the U.S. policies of colonial slavery and war, faithfully serves U.S. imperialism. It assumes an unheard-of ferocious and barbarous nature and is a pattern of the atrocious fascist rule of the imperialists over colonies.

The chief aim the U.S. imperialists and their hirelings seek in their fascist policy is to wipe out all social and political elements that hinder the execution of their colonial rule and war policy. So, they have manufactured various evil fascist laws and expanded the machine of suppression on a large scale and thus covered the whole of South Korea with a military, police, intelligence and espionage network and placed the whole society under a reign of terror. The brunt of their fascist tyranny is being directed to stamping out all democratic freedoms and rights and quelling the patriotic democratic forces. All the progressive political parties, public organizations and press are made the target of repression, and numerous revolutionaries and patriots the victims of the fascist rule.

The U.S. imperialists and the Pak Jung Hi clique are resorting to every available trick to justify their outrageous fascist rule of terror and, in particular, are using "anti-Communism" as a major political and ideological medium. "Anti-Communism" is used in South Korea as a "panacea" by the U.S. imperialists and their stooges in justifying all their criminal acts — from suppressing the people and removing the political opponents to kicking up war hysteria and fanning a fratricidal war. It is under the signboard of "anti-Communism" that war manoeuvres are staged against North Korea and it is under the same signboard of "anti-Communism" that the reaggression of Japanese militarism against South Korea is tolerated and many young and middle-aged South Koreans are dragged out to the shambles of South Vietnam.

With such anti-communist clamours, however, can U.S. imperialism and its stooges never cover up their criminal acts and deceive the masses. Whatever suppression and trickery they may resort to, they cannot curb the growth of the revolutionary struggle of the people in South Korea.

The policies of aggression and war pursued by the U.S. imperialists through the military fascist dictatorship will only result in deepening the crisis of their colonial rule, and not in strengthening their foothold in South Korea. The establishment of the military fascist dictatorship itself means that U.S. imperialism and its henchmen have no choice but to rely on bayonet to maintain their domination, and that U.S. colonial rule over South Korea is shaking.

Under the heavy burden of military expenses corresponding to the war policy and fascist tyranny, the poverty of the people in South Korea and absence of all their rights have reached the extreme. Furthermore, owing to Japan's moves for reaggression and the troop dispatch to South Vietnam, the national dignity is totally trampled upon and social unrest mounts there day by day.

The policies of war and fascism which have brought unbearable calamities and sufferings to the people are evoking deeper discontent with U.S. imperialism and its stooges among the South Korean people and arousing strong aspirations for the right to live, democracy and for national unification. At present the revolutionary struggle of the South Korean people is gaining in strength and they are being further awakened and steeled in the course of struggle. The broad patriotic democratic forces in South Korea are being united under the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist banner, while the handful of the counter-revolutionary forces is being more isolated.

The more the U.S. imperialists intensify the war policy and fascist oppression in South Korea, the greater discontent and opposition of the South Korean people they will encounter and the faster their colonial rule will be disintegrated.

Comrades, the current situation in South Korea requires a rapid expansion of the revolutionary forces and an acceleration of the democratic revolution for national liberation by every possible means.

The basic task of the revolution in South Korea is to eliminate U.S. colonial domination, secure the democratic development of South Korean society and achieve the country's unification in unison with the socialist forces in the North.

The main target of that revolution is the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression. The U.S. imperialists occupied South Korea by force of arms and have turned it into their complete colony and military base. They advertise South Korea as an "independent state" and describe themselves as "liberator," but the real ruler who holds all power in South Korea is none but the U.S. aggressors. The so-called "Republic of Korea Government" of South Korea is a puppet regime rigged up by the U.S. imperialists, and serves as a camouflage for their colonial domination; it is nothing but an instrument faithfully executing the U.S. policy of aggression. The U.S. occupation and its colonial rule over South Korea are the root cause of all misfortunes and sufferings the people in South Korea are undergoing and the main obstacles to unification of our country.

Without driving out the U.S. aggressor forces from South Korea and overthrowing their colonial rule, the South Korean people cannot free themselves from colonial slavery, nor the unification of our country be attained. They must wage a stubborn struggle to oppose the occupation of South Korea by the U.S. aggressor troops, drive them out of South Korea and put an end to U.S. colonial rule.

It is the handful of landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who support and follow the U.S. policy of colonial enslavement in South Korea. They force the South Korean people into colonial slavery in collusion with the U.S. aggressors and actively protect the aggressors in perpetrating all sorts of tyrannical and predatory acts. Under the aegis of the U.S. aggressors, they suppress and exploit the people, wield power and live in luxury at the cost of the interests of the country and the people. While fighting the U.S. aggressors, the people in South Korea must oppose and overthrow landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats who serve U.S. imperialism as its cat's paws and fingermen.

What is important for the struggle of the South Korean people for national independence and unification is to shatter the aggressive schemes of the forces of Japanese militarism. The Japanese militarists are the sworn enemy of our nation who had forced colonial slavery upon us Korean people and trampled our country underfoot and plundered it of everything good and beautiful for nearly half a century.

The Japanese militarists, dreaming of regaining their old position, have started worming their way into South Korea again with the backing of U.S. imperialism, and appeared on the stage as a dangerous force of aggression.

All patriotic people in South Korea must wage a decisive struggle to abrogate the criminal "South Korea-Japan Treaty" and frustrate the attempt of the forces of Japanese militarism at reaggression against South Korea. This struggle is, at the same time, part of the struggle against U.S. colonial domination.

Only by overthrowing the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and their henchmen, can the South Korean people achieve freedom and liberation and only by foiling the Japanese militarist attempt for reaggression, can they extricate themselves from the danger of new calamities.

The important task facing the people in South Korea at present in their struggle against the foreign forces of aggression and their lackeys is to baffle the war policy of U.S. imperialism and its flunkeys, oppose fascist suppression and achieve democratic freedoms and rights.

The South Korean people must oppose and foil the desperate machinations for the unleashing of another war the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are hatching by reinforcing their armed forces, introducing mass destruction weapons and expanding military installations. They should frustrate the intrigues of the U.S. imperialists to draw South Korea into the anti-Communist military alliance and, in particular, fight against the troop dispatch to South Vietnam.

The struggle against the troop dispatch to South Vietnam is a struggle to deliver the young and middle-aged as well as the people in general in South Korea from the scourge of the criminal war of aggression; it is a struggle to support the Vietnamese people fighting for freedom and liberation and to oppose the U.S. policy for the expansion of war in Asia.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals and people of other strata in South Korea should unfold a massive struggle against the troop dispatch to South Vietnam by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and, especially, the young and middle-aged people should be most active in this struggle so as not to be taken into the death pit of South Vietnam. The soldiers and officers of the "ROK Army" must resolutely reject the dispatch of troops to Vietnam, and those soldiers and officers already taken to Vietnam must fight determinedly for their immediate repatriation.

The U.S. imperialists will eventually meet with a fiercer resistance of the officers and men of the "ROK Army" and all the people in South Korea for their having dragged the "ROK Army" troops into their foul aggressive war, while the Pak Jung Hi clique who drive the young and middle-aged people of South Korea into the death pit in a foreign land on U.S. orders are bound to be put on a stern trial by the people for their indelible crime.

The military fascist suppression by U.S. imperialism and the Pak Jung Hi clique prevailing over South Korea today not only causes untold hardships to the South Korean people but also provides grave obstacles to the development of the revolutionary movement in South Korea. No social progress can be expected, nor can the revolutionary forces grow rapidly, nor can the revolutionary movement advance successfully as long as political freedom and democratic rights are trampled upon and fascist tyranny prevails.

The South Korean people should wage a strenuous struggle against fascist suppression and for freedom of speech, press, association, assembly, demonstration, strike, and freedom of activities of all the political parties and public organizations. The workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals and the broad masses in South Korea must fight for the right to live and the immediate improvement of their livelihood, their most urgent demand.

The struggle for democratic rights and freedom can emerge victorious only when it develops into a massive struggle embracing all the revolutionary forces and the forces opposed to the military fascist dictatorship in South Korea. The South Korean people of all walks of life must unfold a massive joint struggle by their united efforts in order to attain political freedom and rights. They must, in this way, check and baffle the fascist suppression and tyranny by U.S. imperialism and its henchmen and overthrow the present military fascist regime, the most heinous executor of colonial fascist rule and the most reactionary military group of intelligence agents and terrorists.

The people in South Korea should develop all the struggles they are waging now into a struggle to liquidate U.S. colonial rule, overthrow landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats and to win power. Only when they establish a people's government representing various strata of the population, can they get out of their cursed plight of today forever and attain genuine freedom and liberation.

In order to vanquish the counter-revolution and win victory for the revolution powerful revolutionary forces must be prepared. Unless the revolutionary forces are adequately prepared, they cannot greet the advent of the great revolutionary event, nor can they counter the routine counter-revolutionary offensives of the enemy.

The basic line of the revolution in South Korea at the present stage is to preserve the revolutionary forces from the enemy's suppression, and at the same time,

constantly accumulate and expand them for the decisive period in the revolution.

The revolutionary forces cannot be prepared automatically, without any struggle. It can grow in strength only through arduous struggles. It is through the ordeals of struggle that the leaders and the nuclei of revolution are reared, the masses of the people awakened and the revolutionary forces increase.

It is very important to lead correctly the mass movement and struggle on the basis of the principles of Marxist-Leninist tactics and strategy in preparing for the revolutionary forces and advancing the revolution.

If a struggle is waged in an adventuristic way without calculating correctly the balance of forces between friend and foe and without making a serious appraisal of the internal and external situation, it will cause a grave loss to the preservation of the revolutionary forces from enemy suppression and to their accumulation, and will, in effect, reverse the wheel of the revolution to a great extent. On the contrary, if a positive struggle is not unfolded just waiting for a favourable situation because the revolution is arduous, neither the revolutionary forces will be accumulated nor difficult phases be coped with in the course of the revolution. It is necessary in South Korea to develop the revolutionary movement, properly combining diverse forms and ways of struggle—the political and economic struggle, the violent and non-violent struggle, the lawful and unlawful struggle—to suit the created subjective and objective situations, while guarding against such Right and "Left" deviations as mentioned above.

The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in South Korea must dedicate their best efforts to constant accumulation and growth of the revolutionary forces through a positive struggle against U.S. imperialism and its hirelings.

Most important of all in the preparations for the revolutionary forces is to build a Marxist-Leninist Party, the general staff of revolution, and form a powerful main force of revolution, uniting around it the workers and peasants—the basic masses of society.

Experience gained in the revolutionary movement in South Korea shows that neither the growth of the revolutionary forces nor the successful progress of the revolutionary movement is expected in South Korea unless there is a unified leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party deeply rooted among the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals. Immediately after liberation, the struggle of the masses had upsurged greatly in South Korea. But it could not be led to victory because it was lacking the leadership of a Party possessing the real revolutionary nuclei. After the war, too, favourable situations were created on many occasions, but the masses could not be led to a decisive struggle because there was no unified leadership of a revolutionary Party.

It is an urgent demand of the development of the revolutionary movement in South Korea today to build a militant, flexible Marxist-Leninist Party and enhance its leading role. The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in South Korea should steadily extend and strengthen the Party ranks through practical struggles against the enemy and, in particular, reinforce the Party organizations qualitatively with the revolutionary nuclei who have been steeled and tested in the struggle. The revolutionary organizations in South Korea should become the militant detachments of the staunch revolutionary fighters who possess the firm Marxist-Leninit world outlook and are firmly determined to fight to the last in the interests of the people and can uphold revolutionary constancy in any adversity. The leading core of the Party organizations must be formed with the competent revolutionaries who are capable of making an accurate judgement of the situation and skillfully leading the movement on the tactical and strategic principles of Marxism-Leninism in any complicated circumstances. When they are formed with such stout revolutionary fighters, the Party organizations can guide the revolutionary movement with conviction, breaking through all difficulties and ordeals.

The Marxist-Leninist Party must maintain close bonds of kinship with the workers, peasants, and other broad sections of the masses and root deep in them so that it may strengthen its leading role and consolidate its own ranks. To extend and reinforce its mass foundation, the Party should bring together the workers and peasants in the mass organizations and unite them around the Party. The mass organizations must embrace the broad masses; they must be democratic organizations that truly defend the class interests, and they must be lawful organizations in principle. When the workers and peasants are closely rallied and awakened under these organizations and united around the Party, the revolution in South Korea will come to have a powerful main force.

To win victory for the revolution, it is necessary to mobilize all forces that are interested in the revolution while building up its main force. Only by winning over all forces that can be won over and uniting them into a single political force, will it be possible to fully isolate the counter-revolution, secure overwhelming superiority over it for the revolutionary forces and lead the revolution to victory.

It is one of the most important tasks in strengthening the revolutionary forces and advancing the revolutionary struggle to form a broad anti-U.S. united front for natignal salvation that embraces the patriotic democratic forces of all circles and strata in South Korea today.

The broad strata of the South Korean people—workers, peasants, youth and students, intellectuals, urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie—are suffering alike under U.S. colonial rule. This constitutes an objective condition for the formation of the anti-U.S. united front for national salvation with people of all walks of life who are opposed to U.S. imperialism and its accomplices—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

The revolutionary organizations and the people of South Korea must do everything in their power to organize a broad united front. The broadest possible sections of the people should be rallied to unfold a joint battle under the banner of the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, especially, under the banner of struggle against the war policy and fascist suppression by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, against the troop dispatch to South Vietnam and the "South Korea-Japan Treaty."

In forming and consolidating the united front, it is essential to hold fast to the line of concentrating upon the formation of a united front of rank-and-file and achieving on this basis a united front of the upper strata and to gradually develop a lower form of joint struggle into a higher form and expand partial coalition to all-round coalition.

What is most important in the formation of a united front in South Korea is to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, the socio-political basis of the united front, and at the same time, to realize a coalition of the workers, peasants, youth and students and intellectuals. It is of profound significance not only for the immediate formation of a united front and an acceleration of the mass movement but for the future development of the revolution in South Korea as well. Youth, students and intellectuals in colonial countries are mostly revolutionary because they suffer national oppression and contempt. They are sensitive to the trend of the times and quick of awakening to national consciousness, and accordingly, play an important role in building a bridge between the workers and peasants and the revolutionary movement. Youth, students and intellectuals in South Korea assume all these characteristic features and actually constitute an important force in the struggle against the U.S imperialist forces of aggression and its lackeys. The South Korean workers and peasants should closely unite with youth, students and intellectuals and always work together both in carrying out the national-liberation revolution at the present moment and in building new society in the future. The youth, students and intellectuals of South Korea should reinforce their ranks still more firmly, not yielding to any suppression and persecution by the enemy, go deep among the workers and peasants and share their fate with them, and thereby fight out for the victory of the cause of revolution.

At present, more than 600,000 young people of South Korea serve in the "ROK Army." The absolute majority of the rank and file and middle and low-ranking officers in the "ROK Army" come from the working people including the workers and peasants. The "ROK Army", however, as an instrument of U.S. colonial rule are forced to level their guns at their people and nation and are dragged into the aggressive war as colonial mercenaries. The "ROK Army" must rid themselves of this shameful lot and become the army of the people, the army of the nation.

The soldiers, middle and low-ranking officers of the "ROK Army" must not be deceived by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. Their enemies are not their fellow countrymen, parents and brothers, but the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their hirelings. They must not be used in slaughtering their parents, brothers and sisters and oppressing the people, but should go hand in hand with their parents, brothers and sisters, with the people, in the struggle against foreign aggressors, landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats. The "ROK Army" soldiers and officers must turn their guns on the U.S. imperialists and their stooges.

The South Korean people must make every effort to prevent their sons from being forced to commit crimes of treachery to the people and the nation and free them from the disgraceful plight of mercenaries serving U.S. aggression, so as to come over to the side of the people and the nation.

It is of great significance in weakening the counter revolutionary forces and consolidating the revolutionary forces to make the "ROK Army" soldiers and officers to side with the people, the nation and the revolution. The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in South Korea should concentrate their efforts to do their work well with the "ROK Army" and win over the soldiers, middle and low-ranking officers to the side of the revolution.

The first and foremost task in isolating the counter-revolution and increasing the revolutionary forces is to awaken the masses politically and ideologically. Revolution starts with the awakening of the masses. Unless the masses of the people become conscious, it is impossible to unite them in an organized way or develop the mass movement either. There is an increasing necessity of giving precedence to political and ideological work in the light of the present situation in South Korea where the enemy disseminates more and more reactionary ideas with each passing day. The revolutionary organizations in South Korea must actively strive to heighten the class consciousness of the workers and peasants and the national consciousness of the masses of the people, enlighten and awaken them politically.

What is of paramount importance in awakening the masses of the people in South Korea is to rid them of the illusion concerning the United States and the ideas of flunkeyism and root out the "anti-Communist" ideas. The U.S. worship, flunkeyism and "anti-Communist" ideas have a long historical root in South Korea. Especially after the surrender of Japanese imperialism they were implanted still deeper by U.S. imperialism and the pro-American reactionary forces who are in collusion with it—landlords, comprador capitalists and reactionary bureaucrats.

Today, not a few people in South Korea fail to see the aggressive nature of U.S. imperialism, and think as if they could not live on without U.S. "aid." The trend to worship and rely on the United States is a great obstacle to the struggle for national liberation and independence.

To free the people in South

Korea from the influence of such reactionary ideas, it is necessary, first of all, to expose the U.S. imperialist policy of neo-colonialism and lay bare their aggressive, predatory nature and colonial character of South Korean society. It is essential to heighten the consciousness of national identity against the flunkeyism towards the United States among the South Korean people, explain to them the idea of independence and self-reliance against the idea of relying on outside forces and widely propagate the patriotic national traditions of the Korean people against national nihilism. National pride and self-confidence should thus be elevated and the ideas of patriotism imbued into the people so that they may fight more valiantly against foreign aggressors.

All this propaganda to the masses must be conducted in close combination with that of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Principles of Marxism-Leninism should be widely propagated among the masses of the people so as to give them a correct understanding of socialism and communism and help the workers, peasants and the broad masses cast away the influence of the "anti-Communist" ideas.

In conducting propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, attention must be directed to affording the masses of the workers and peasants in South Korea an accurate idea of the essence and superiority of the social system of North Korea.

Only when the people in South Korea have a correct understanding of the social system in the North, will they cast off prejudices against socialism and communism and accept Marxism-Leninism, and come out actively in the revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary movement will progress rapidly in South Korea if the national and class consciousness of the masses of the people is enhanced through the energetic political and ideological work of the revolutionary organizations and the revolutionaries and the broad masses rise in the struggle with revolutionary zeal and courage.

Any revolution, however great it may be, is started by a small number of pioneers at first, and then broad masses center around them and start acting gradually, multiplying their number, eventually leading the revolution to victory. Therefore, if only there are prepared leading nuclei, they can awaken and unite the masses and step up the revolutionary movement and, in the end, lead the people to victory in the decisive struggle for vanquishing the enemy once a favourable situation arises. If only there are the revolutionary nuclei and the revolutionary forces are strengthened, they are able to defeat any counter-revolutionary forces with the support of the masses of the people.

The revolutionary organizations and revolutionaries in South Korea must steadily strengthen their ideological and organizational strength in order to advance the decisive moment of the revolution and crush the colonial rule of U.S. imperialism, and prepare the revolutionary masses for all types of violent and non-violent struggles.

It is true that the revolution in South Korea can in no way be won easily and there is an arduous road still to cover, but no difficulty, no desperation on the part of the enemy, can check the advance of the revolution in South Korea. Along with the lawful trend of the development of revolution, the revolutionary movement will continue to advance and develop in South Korea and the revolutionary ranks will be steadily expanded and reinforced in the course of the struggle.

History knows no revolution that has ever failed once the masses were determined to make it and rise as one in the heroic struggle. Especially the people in South Korea are not alone in their revolutionary struggle; they have a powerful revolutionary base in North Korea. Our Party and the whole people in the North will do all they can to support the revolutionary struggle of the people in South Korea and will join hands with them in the resolute battle for the complete liberation of our country and for national unification.

When the revolution in South Korea emerges victorious, the cause of unification of our country will be successfully achieved by the united efforts of the socialist forces in North Korea and the patriotic democratic forces in South Korea.

The unification of the country is the supreme national task and the urgent question which brooks no further delay. There may be various ways and means of accomplishing national unification. But, whatever its concrete ways and means may be, the country must in any case be unified independently by the Korean people themselves, and it cannot be done otherwise. Korean unification is an internal affair of the Korean nation; the United Nations or any other outside forces have no right to meddle in it. The Korean people can achieve unification only by relying on their own efforts; it is neither the United Nations nor any outside forces that can bring us a unified country. To try to accomplish unification by relying on outside forces is an illusion, it will only perpetuate the split of the nation and bring about enslavement.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys demand "Unification under U.N. supervision," doggedly hampering the independent unification of our country by ourselves. Of late, the puppet clique in South Korea are alleging that if unification should be accomplished right now, South Korea would be in danger of being "communized" and so, at the moment it is necessary for them to "foster our real power" to "prevail over Communism" and that the question of unification would be discussed in the "latter half of 1970's." This proves that they are, in actual fact, indifferent to the country's unification although they talk about it in words. Moreover, to "prevail over Communism" is a sheer delirious utterances of those who dream of plucking a star from the sky, and the clamours about the danger of "communization" will only reveal the true colours of those traitors to the nation and country who oppose unification and try to perpetuate territorial division and keep the South Korean people in U.S. imperialist slavery for ever.

It is self-evident that the question of unification of our nation can not be solved excluding the Communists in Korea, now that they have become the solid guiding force in the northern half of the country and all the people in North Korea have accepted the idea of communism and are building a happy, new life under its banner. What social system should be established in our country after unification is a question to be decided on in conformity with the collective will of the entire Korean people. If all the people in South Korea want communism like the people in the North, a social system based on that idea will, of course, be established in our unified country.

Communism is the most progressive idea that illumines a bright future for mankind. The achievements made by the people in North Korea in socialist construction under the leadership of the Communists clearly show what a great thing can be accomplished in the interests of the people, for the national prosperity and progress of the country, if the Communist idea is taken as a guide. The idea of communism today grips the minds of hundreds of millions of people in all continents, inspiring them to a sacred struggle for freedom, liberation and the building of new society.

If unification is accomplished we shall pool the wisdom and energy of the entire people in North and South Korea and develop the resources in both parts in a co-ordinated way to build a new prosperous Korea, a fine land for the people to live in. Korea will, when united, become a big nation with a population of 40 million, a wealthy and powerful nation which would not need to envy any other country.

All the people in North and South Korea, looking forward to this bright future, are striving to expedite the cause of national unification. As U.S. imperialism and its lackeys are unable to obstruct revolution and construction in North Korea, so they are unable to arrest the progress and victory of the revolutionary movement in South Korea or prevent the struggle of the Korean people for the country's unification.

Our 600,000 compatriots in Japan and all other Korean citizens abroad desire to see their homeland unified and are fighting to recover a unified motherland.

Whatever repression and persecution the Japanese authorities may resort to, they can not curb the struggle of the Korean nationals in Japan for democratic, national rights and unification of the country; it will only add fuel to the indignation of the whole Korean people. We scathingly condemn the suppression and persecution of Korean nationals in Japan by the Japanese authorities and will, as always, give support and encouragement to the just struggle of our compatriots.

The day of unification is drawing nearer and nearer thanks to the vigorous struggle waged by the Korean people in North and South Korea under the banner of national salvation opposing U.S. imperialism and to the patriotic struggle of the Korean nationals abroad. Sooner or later, the U.S. imperialist aggressors, the inveterate enemy of our people will be driven out of South Korea; already there are signs of their domination being overthrown.

The U.S. imperialists are now rejected and isolated in every place in the world where they set foot. Meeting with the resistance of the revolutionary people in Asia and the rest of the world, they are sinking deeper and deeper into a predicament.

Imperialism appears to be strong but, in fact, it is a thing like a castle on the sand and its collapse is inevitable. This was the case with the Hitlerites and Japanese imperialists in the past. At present the U.S. imperialists boast of being the world's "mightiest" and make a show of power, but they, too, are doomed to destruction.

The same fate awaits the Japanese militarists who are worming into South Korea with the backing of U.S. imperialism. The Japanese militarists are historically accustomed to acquire a "windfall" with the support of big powers. In the past they conspired with the U.S. and British imperialists and annexed Korea under their patronage, stretched their claws of aggression to the Asian continent and made frenzied efforts to be the "leader" of Asia in league with fascist Germany and Italy. But they were defeated in the long run. Watching for a chance of acquiring another "windfall," the Japanese militarists are now trying to sneak into South Korea in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, and to realize their old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." This is a preposterous day-dream.

Korea today is not the Korea of yesterday, and today's Asia is not yesterday's. If the Japanese imperialists launch out into reaggression against Korea and Asia, disregarding the lessons of history, they will perish in the flames they themselves kindle.

No imperialist forces on earth can conquer the Korean people and the Asian peoples.

The imperialist aggressors will certainly be defeated and our people emerge victorious, and the liberation of the people in South Korea and the cause of national unification will be accomplished without fail.

Comrades, the revolutionary cause of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people is a righteous one. The internal and external policies of our Party are the correct policies that have applied Marxism-Leninism to our actual conditions. Our revolutionary ranks firmly rallied around the Party are invincible; they are being further expanded and strengthened.

The more complicated the situation becomes and the more we are confronted with hard and enormous tasks, the firmer we will unite our ranks and the more valiantly we will fight along the road we have chosen, with conviction in the justness of our cause and its final victory.

Our Party and the entire people, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, will surely fulfil their national and international duties splendidly by continuously waging a vigorous struggle, rallying still more closely around the Party Central Committee.